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HISTORY
OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN
CALIFORNIA.

BY W. GLEESON, M.A.,
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IN TWO VOLUMES. ILLUSTRATED.

VOL. I.

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TO THE
FOREIGN MISSIONARY COLLEGE,
OF
ALL-HALLOWS, DRUMCONDRA,
DUBLIN, IRELAND,

THIS BOOK IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY
THE AUTHOR.

St. Mary's College, San Francisco, Cal.
October, 1871.

PREFACE.

THE title of this work may appear to some unwarranted by the character of the book. The ecclesiastical annals of Upper and Lower California, it may be alleged, are not sufficiently rich in historical details to entitle a treatise on the state of religion in the country to be styled a history. "The Catholic Church in California," or "The Early Missions," might be deemed a more appropriate name. It is true the greater part of the work treats only of the primitive missions established by the Jesuits and Franciscans. But, inasmuch as the Church on this coast has long since ceased to be a missionary body, in the sense of being governed by Vicars Apostolic, having for several years obtained an honorable place in the American hierarchy, it has been considered that the record of its career would be more appropriately expressed under the title of History than of Missions.

The considerable time, too, nearly two hundred years, since the faith was introduced into the country, is an additional reason why the claim to the name should not be denied.

The sources whence the historical matter has been drawn, will be found entire at the end of the second volume. They are not as numerous and complete as might be desired, yet, such as they are, they have been carefully considered, and nothing has been left unexamined which it was thought could aid in the execution of the work.

The writings on which we have mainly relied, are—
“The Natural and Civil History of Lower California,”
by Father Miguel Venegas: Boscana’s “Historical
Account of the Indians of Upper California;” Dufлот de
Mofras’ “Exploration of Oregon;” Palou “Life of
Junipero Serra;” Forbes’ “Lower California;” and
Dwinelle’s “Colonial History.”

For the chapter on Christian Traditions, we have
consulted Sahagun’s “History of Mexico,” Torquemada,
Clavigero, Veytia, and others. The first, who was a
Franciscan, wrote at the period of the conquest, and is
considered a most reliable author. His work is at pres-
ent extremely rare, there not being probably more than
one copy of it in the entire country. Clavigero’s “His-
tory of Mexico” is a large two-volume quarto work. It
has been translated into English, and published in Lon-
don, by Mr. Charles Cullen. Torquemada and Veytia
have not been translated, but the passages quoted from
them we have translated into English, for the conveni-
ence of our readers.

In support of the presence of the Irish on the At-
lantic coast prior to the eleventh century, we have taken
several passages from the “*Antiquitates Americanæ*,”
a voluminous work in folio, published for the first time
in 1837, under the direction of the Royal Society of
Northern Antiquarians. It is of the highest authority
on the subject on which it treats, namely, the presence
of the Northmen and Irish in America at an early
date. Like Sahagun’s “History of Mexico,” there is,
I believe, only one copy of it in all California—that
preserved in the State Library at Sacramento. It is in
three languages: Icelandic, Danish, and Latin; the two
latter being only translations of the former. The text,
which is made up of geographical notices, and extracts
from the voyages of Icelanders to America, is taken

from the Icelandic manuscript histories preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, of which there is a large number, the most celebrated being the “*Codex Flateyensis*,” marked F. This celebrated parchment derives its name from the island of Flateya, off the coast of Iceland, where it was long preserved. It eventually fell into the hands of Byrnjulf, Bishop of Skalholt, by whom it was presented to Frederick III. of Denmark. It contains a record of the lives of several kings, and was written by two ecclesiastics, Fathers John and Magnus, in the year 1387. There are eighteen other parchment manuscripts in the Copenhagen Library, written before the time of Columbus, wherein mention is made of America, under the names of Helluland, Markland, Vinland, and Great Ireland.

The arrangement of the “*Antiquitates*” is in double columns, containing Icelandic and Danish texts, beneath which is the Latin translation. In the same work are some Latin fragments from the history of the church, by Adam of Bremen, who lived for some time at the Court of Denmark, and wrote in the 11th century. He is thus spoken of by Rafn; “*Adamus Bremensis fuit canonicus et ædituus Bremis. Fama de virtutibus et doctrina regis Danorum Suenonis Astrididæ eum in Daniam excivit. Hæc profectio, ipsius regis relationes, et tabularium Hamburgense, nec non nonnulli scriptores antiquiores materiam ei præbuerunt historiæ ecclesiasticæ quatuor libris Latine conscribendæ, in quibus explicat Christianæ religionis in Germania boreali et Septentrione propagationem a tempore Caroli Magni ad Henricum Quartum; addiditque ad Calcem libri quarti descriptionem de situ Daniæ et reliquarum, quæ trans Daniam sunt regionum.*”

The part of our volume treating on the ancient American ruins we have prepared after a careful examination

of the most eminent and reliable writers on the subject. Of these, the more notable are the works of the Smithsonian Institute, the "American Antiquities," by Bradford, the "Archeologia Americana" and the "Cités et Ruins Americaines," by Mons. Charney. The first, which are very voluminous, embody the opinions of the most learned American Antiquarians, but, like others who have treated the subject, they only deal with it in its general bearings, contenting themselves with having established the fact that America was once in the enjoyment of a high degree of civilization. Beyond this the present writer has undertaken to conduct the reader, and to show when and whence the people came, who were the authors of this enlightenment. The conclusions arrived at, it is to be hoped, will meet with the approval of all impartial readers.

It is here proper to remark that our work has no official recognition. Such has never been solicited. It goes forth on its own merits: should it meet with general approval we shall be glad, but if not, the failure, under the circumstances, will not be a cause of embarrassment to his Grace and his clergy.

We cannot take leave of these prefatory remarks without returning our thanks to those, through whose kindness we have had access to the writings necessary for our purpose. We feel especially indebted to Mr. H. H. Bancroft for the use of his excellent library, the best by far in California for works on the ancient history of Mexico and the Pacific Coast. We are also indebted to the kindness of the Librarians of the Mercantile, Mechanics', Odd Fellows' and Pioneer Libraries, and to the Librarian of the State Library at Sacramento.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.—ARRANGEMENT AND OBJECT OF THE WORK.

The history of the Catholic Church in California dates from the latter half of the seventeenth century. From that time down to the present, I purpose to write an account of the state of religion in the country. The absence of an impartial, comprehensive work, embracing the past and present condition of the Church, is my reason for undertaking this task.

Though largely devoid of those important and leading events, which, in older and more populous parts of the Catholic world, constitute the principal chapters of history, the record of the Church's career on this coast is yet not without interest to the Catholic mind. The history of missionary enterprise in every country, and under every circumstance, possesses an attraction for many, much greater when it happens to be connected with results of a most gratifying kind, as in the case of which we are going to treat.

The history of the Catholic Church in California commends itself, too, to the general reader, for another and, perhaps, a more appreciable reason. I allude to the connection between the civil and religious history of the country. For three hund-

red years and more—from the landing of Cortes in 1536 till the annexation of Upper California by the American Republic in 1846, the civil and religious relations differed so little that they found expression on the same page. It is only since the loss of one half of the country to Mexico that the two branches of history have formed separate fields for inquiry, and that the civil and religious historians, severing a long-formed friendship, have entered on different routes.

As the conversion of the aborigines from paganism and barbarism to Christianity and civilization has been the result of the devoted and heroic exertions of the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries, I have resolved, in the arrangement of my subject, to treat of the order of events in two volumes. In the first, I will speak of the labors and triumphs of the Jesuit Fathers in Lower California, from the time of their landing in 1683 to the date of their expulsion, in common with their brethren of Paraguay, in 1768, by order of Charles III.

The second volume will contain, besides an account of the conversion of Upper or Alta California by the disciples of St. Francis, a description of the once happy and flourishing state of the missions, under the paternal rule of the Fathers, their subsequent decline and ultimate ruin under Mexican auspices; to which will be added an impartial description of the state of religion during

the American period, since the appointment of the Right Rev. Dr. Alemany as second bishop of Monterey.

My principal object in undertaking this work is the desire of placing upon record, and handing down to posterity, a faithful and unbiased relation of the labors, trials and triumphs of the pioneer missionary Fathers, not forgetting what is due to those who have succeeded them in the ministry.

At the risk of laying myself open to the charge of embodying something foreign to my purpose, yet with the view of its being acceptable to many, I have resolved upon giving a limited description of the country and its resources, as well as an abbreviated account of the different voyages made to its shores, during a long series of years, by the Spaniards, the British and the French.

To the manners, customs and religion of the aborigines, I propose devoting several pages, that the reader may be acquainted with the character of those with whom the pioneer missionaries had to come into contact. And, connected herewith, it will be read, I trust, not without interest, how certain apparently Christian traditions and observances were found to be held and maintained by the natives. The explanation to be offered in solution to this will lead to the interesting inquiry, as to whether the Christian religion had ever been preached in America previous to the arrival of the Spaniards. In support of the affirmative proofs

will be offered to the acceptance of the reader in favor of the arrival of St. Thomas, the Apostle, in the country; as well as in support of the presence of the Irish on the eastern or Atlantic coast prior to the landing of Columbus.

Out of this will arise the investigation of another and, if possible, more difficult problem—the origin of those numerous, ancient remains of towns, tombs and fortifications, scattered everywhere through the continent, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Pacific. To this the reader's attention will be specially invited, though not forming any direct part of the work; for, entirely apart from religious inquiry, it must ever be regarded as a matter of more than ordinary importance, to determine on satisfactory grounds the origin and identity of that remarkable people—the authors of that enlightenment and civilization of which it is now freely acknowledged this country was in possession centuries before its discovery in 1492.¹

But, however agreeable and interesting an inquiry of this nature may prove to the general reader, the main feature of California church history will naturally be the conversion and civilization of the Indians, and that at a time when some of the principal nations of Europe were being violently torn from the centre of Catholic unity; so that, viewing the matter in connection herewith,

(1) See works by the Smithsonian Institute. *American Antiquities*.—Bradford.

the thought may not unreasonably occur to the mind of the reader that the Almighty had determined upon compensating his church for the losses sustained in the old world by the accessions made in the new. Neither will it be forgotten, that the nation made use of for the accomplishment of this noble and beneficent purpose, was the then powerful Catholic Kingdom of Spain, under whose banners the children of Ignatius, of Domenic, and Francis, went forth to the ends of the earth, rivaling in their thirst for the conversion of nations, the daring and ambition of their reckless secular brethren in their pursuit after temporal honors and temporal gain.

Undaunted by the most formidable dangers to be apprehended from long and perilous voyages, from close and constant communication with rude and barbarous races, or from bad and insalubrious climates, the history of that period presents us with the agreeable picture of the Spanish Religious hastening to every part of the globe, wherever the arms of his country had opened him a passage. Hence the account of the noble and heroic exertions of the missionary priests in the valley of the Mississippi, in the wilds of Peru, on the burning plains of the Indies, and amid the hills and valleys of California. No fleet or expedition of any importance sailed in those days under the auspices of Catholic Spain, unattended by the missionary priest, the bearer and exponent at the same time

of that symbol of faith—the cross of the Redeemer, under whose shadow the countries were to be gained to the church and the crown. And whenever the reduction of a race happened to prove too weighty a measure for the civil authority, it had only to be entrusted, as in the case of the Californias, to the zeal and devotion of the clerical body, in order to ensure its final submission. When, however, a different policy came to be adopted, the result was unhappily alike fatal to the interests of the crown and the well-being of religion. For it is not a matter unknown to the student of history, that from the moment the monarchs of Spain offered violence to the ministers of the gospel, the star of their country's temporal ascendancy began to decline, their political relations were altered, the seeds of disorder and rebellion were sown in their provinces, and territory after territory began to renounce their authority; until the last of those numerous and magnificent American dependencies, which had made them at one time the pride and envy of the most powerful nations of the world, was violently torn from their grasp.

On the other hand, as long as the responsible ministers of government showed themselves capable of appreciating the labors of the missionary, by aiding him in the prosecution of his noble and charitable enterprise, the power of Spain rested on a solid and unshaken foundation. The im-

possibility of governing with entire satisfaction and advantage to the crown provinces, at such a considerable distance as the Spanish-American possessions, is put forward by some as a plea for the coldness and neglect with which the Court at Madrid treated the Paraguayan and Californian missionaries. But, however plausible and satisfactory such an argument may appear to the apologists of royalty, it will never satisfactorily account for the severity and injustice exercised in the expulsion of the Fathers from the shores of the Pacific.

It is true that the royal intentions were oftentimes thwarted, and the most positive instructions artfully evaded, by designing and unscrupulous ministers; for not unfrequently did it happen that when orders were sent from the Court of Madrid to the Mexican government in favor of the Fathers, these royal commands were either entirely neglected, or executed only after the most injurious delay. This was remarkably so in the year 1698, as also in the years 1703 and 1707, as we shall see in the body of the work. Indirectly, it was a gain rather than a loss; for it showed more emphatically than anything else could have done, how the conversion of the country was the work of the Fathers, and not the result of the favors or patronage of the State.

What contributed not a little to the missionaries' success was their chivalrous and devoted ex-

ertions in behalf of the people in times of public calamity, for, regardless of their own personal comfort and safety, they never withheld the kind offices of charity from any; never failed to exhibit in their lives the example of the gospel Samaritan, by attending on all, no matter how loathsome, infectious or dangerous the diseases with which they happened to be afflicted. Thus, by rare examples of virtue, by a devotion and zeal unparalleled in the annals of any other part of the Church, the pioneer Jesuit Fathers in Lower California continued to add constantly to the number of the faithful, until, at the moment of their departure from the peninsula, the united result of their missionary labors proved to be one of the most remarkable triumphs of gospel success achieved for religion in modern times. It was the conversion of the entire country, from Cape St. Lucas to the mouth of the Colorado.

What the sons of Ignatius did for Lower California, the children of Francis accomplished for Upper. Everywhere the preaching of the gospel was attended with the most favorable results. From San Diego to San Francisco, missionary establishments arose along the coast, where thousands of the people were carefully provided with everything requisite for their temporal wants, instructed in the great truths of religion, and the arts of civilized life.

But, viewing the result of the missionaries' la-

bors merely on the ground of temporal advantages done to the natives, there is much to admire and extol in their work, while, as a successful undertaking, accomplished with such limited means, it contrasts most advantageously with the previous efforts of Government in a similar direction. For one hundred and fifty years immediately succeeding the discovery of the peninsula, the subjugation and settlement of the country, though an object of the highest ambition to the Spanish authorities, remained entirely unattained. Even the impossibility of ever accomplishing the same by secular means was freely acknowledged by all.

No sooner, however, was it entrusted to the care of the Religious than the difficulties experienced for a century and a half immediately disappear. Neither the character of the inhabitants, nor the apparent infertility of the land, is any longer an impediment against making settlements on the coast. The soil, though yielding only the meagerest sustenance to its wretched inhabitants, now, at the approach of the Fathers, opens its bosom, and pours forth its rich treasures of nature. At the voice of the same venerable men, fifty thousand of the savages descend from the mountains, abandon their barbarous state, accept the religion of Christ, and engage in the works and arts of civilized life. To paganism succeeds Christianity; to barbarism, civilization; to wild, neglected, uncultivated regions, blooming, fertile val-

leys teeming with abundant crops and extensive herds—all the result of the labors and devoted exertions of men whose only means of enforcing authority were the mild and persuasive words of the gospel, and whose only worldly inheritance consisted of a cassock, a girdle and a breviary.

In 1834, the number of live stock belonging to the missions in Upper California alone, amounted to four hundred and twenty-four thousand head of horned cattle; sixty-two thousand head of horse, and three hundred and twenty-one thousand of other kinds; while for the same year the cereal returns are given at one hundred and twenty-two thousand five hundred *fanegas*.¹

Of the articles of export, which consisted of hides, tallow, oil, wood, wool, tobacco and cotton, the first was the principal. Two hundred thousand hides annually left the shores for the Sandwich, Peruvian and American markets. The annual gross value of all the commodities leaving the country may be estimated at close on half a million of Spanish piastres.² Yet, in the presence of these incontrovertible figures, there are those who withhold from the Fathers that praise and admiration so justly entitled them by their zealous and devoted exertions in behalf of the temporal interests of the people; while others, more ungenerous and unreasonable still, would fain have

(1) A *fanega* is equal to a bushel.

(2) See *Exploration de l'Oregon*, by Mons. Duflot de Mofras; vol. 1, p. 480.

the world regard them in a light entirely unworthy of their sacred profession. Of the former, the Scotch author of the *History of America*, may be evidenced as an instance; nor are we to be astonished at this, for inasmuch as Robertson never visited the country, and was not over favorable, as a writer, to Catholic interests, little else could be expected at his hands.¹ Neither should we be surprised at not meeting with commendatory expressions in the writings of men who paid only casual visits to the shores, as Rogers, Shelvocke and Beechey; but that men residing in the country, and supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with its history, should condemn the Religious, and censure them in the coarsest of language, betrays either an unpardonable ignorance of the true history of the land, or a mind utterly prejudiced against every thing Catholic.²

The charges laid to the account of the Fathers are mainly to the effect that they were not sufficiently progressive; that they kept their neophyte converts in a state of perpetual bondage, and failed to elevate them to a high and desirable degree of civilization. "The Spanish population and the Fathers," say the writers of the *Annals of San Francisco*, "could not or would not, as truly they did not, as we may afterwards see, do any thing to promote the happiness of the human race

(1) *Robertson's History of America*: Book VII. p. 74.

(2) See Forbes' *History of California—Annals of San Francisco*.

in the country. Men feed the ox and the sheep for their milk and fleece, the hog for his flesh, the ass for the strength of his back, and all for their increase; so did the Fathers feed their Indian converts, and find abundant profit in their labor and personal services, whom they left, as they perhaps found, if they did not transform them into moral beasts, just as tame, dull and silly, dirty, diseased and stupidly obstinate as the other brutes named.'¹

Before indicting so grave and serious a charge against the most devoted and remarkable missionaries of modern times, it is to be regretted that the writers of the *Annals* did not consider whether it was any advantage to the natives to have been instructed in a knowledge of the Christian religion; to have been reclaimed from their wandering, precarious existence, instructed in the elementary principles of a civilized life, and provided with all the requirements demanded for their temporal wants. It is also to be regretted, that they did not consider whether it is possible, even under the most favorable circumstances, to speedily transform the savage into a civilized man. The history of the world, and the experience of all ages, would have told them exactly the contrary. In no part of the globe, and under no circumstances whatever, has it ever been known that the wild and uncivilized races have been elevated to

(1) *Annals San Francisco*: p. 52.

a parallel with civilized Christian communities in less than a few generations.

The history of the whole of America is an apposite instance of this. The still rude and uncivilized habits of the yet wandering tribes of this coast, of Oregon, and the great western prairies, is an evidence of how little even a Republican government can effect in exalting a people.

The Floridan war, which lasted from 1835 to 1842, cost the United States Government of America forty million dollars, and twenty thousand of the flower of the army; and yet, we are told, that until lately the chief of the Seminoles was the terror of the frontier.¹ Under the circumstances, the Fathers did all that could be reasonably expected at their hands, and more, I may safely affirm, than any other body of men, outside the Catholic Church, has ever accomplished with similar means. The material they had to work on was of the poorest and most unfavorable kind.

According to the testimony of the most impartial and best informed writers, the physical and mental conditions of the Californians was the lowest and weakest of all the American races. "It is not for Europeans," writes the author of the *Natural and Civil History of California*, "who have never been out of their own country, to conceive an adequate idea of this people. For even in the least frequented corners of the globe there is not a na-

(1) See *Catholic Church in the United States*; p. 16.

tion so stupid, of such contracted ideas, and so weak, both in body and mind, as the unhappy Californians." "They pass whole days," says Humboldt, "stretched out on their bellies on the sand when it is heated by the reverberation of the solar rays." And Father Boscana, who spent a quarter of a century in the country, gives them even a more unfavorable character: "The Indians of California may be compared to a species of monkey; for in naught do they express interest except in imitating the action of others, and particularly in copying the ways of the *razon* or white men, whom they respect as beings much superior to themselves; but, in doing so, they are careful to select vice in preference to virtue. This is the result, undoubtedly, of their corrupt and natural disposition." ¹

The condition of the Indians after their conversion, when instructed by the Religious, contrasts most favorably with this.

Captain Benjamin Morrell, of the United States service, who visited the country in 1832, speaks thus of the Indians of the mission of St. Anthony of Padua, near Monterey: "The Indians are very industrious in their labors, and obedient to their teachers and directors, to whom they look up as to a father and protector, and who in return discharge their duty toward these poor Indians with

(1) *Historical Account of the Indians of Upper California*; by Father Boscana, p. 335.

a great deal of feeling and humanity. They are generally well clothed and fed, have houses of their own, and are made as comfortable as they wish to be. The greatest care is taken of all who are afflicted with any disease, and every attention is paid to their wants." And again: "No person of unprejudiced mind could witness the labors of these Catholic missionaries, and contemplate the happy results of their philanthropic exertions, without confessing that they are unwearied in well-doing. The Indians are generally a very industrious, ingenious and cleanly people."¹ Mr. Russell Bartlett, speaking of the state of the country after the destruction of the missions by the Mexican government, writes in the same commendatory manner: "Humanity cannot refrain from wishing that the dilapidated Mission of San Gabriel should be renovated, and its broken walls be rebuilt, its roofless houses be re-covered, and its deserted walls be again filled with its ancient *industrious, happy and contented population*." A little before, the same writer had said: "Five thousand Indians were at one time collected and attached to the mission. They are represented to have been sober and industrious, well clothed and fed." An American, who passed several years in the country, bears equally satisfactory testimony of their virtues; speaking of the Mission of San José, he says: "And perhaps there are few places in the world

(1) *A Narrative of Four Voyages in the Pacific*: chap. VI., p. 208.

where, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, can be found *more chastity*, industrious habits and correct deportment than among the women of this place.”¹

The Abbé Domenic’s valuable work on the Great Deserts of America also contains some notable passages respecting the condition of the Indians before and after their conversion: “The Indians of California consist of poor tribes, living wretchedly on the product of fishing, of hunting, and of wild fruits. Under the intelligent and paternal administration of the missionaries they had become happy, docile and industrious, even though their intelligence was much inferior to that of the other Indians of North America. They tilled the fields, cultivated the vine, and had very fine orchards. Previous to the arrival of the Jesuits, they were in complete ignorance of the art of agriculture, and even of the pastoral life. Stupidity seemed to be their distinctive character.”²

Such is my answer to those whose works are dishonored by the censures and condemnations they contain of the pioneer Fathers to this coast. In the body of the work the reader will be able to appreciate more fully the true character of the Religious, on reading in detail an account of their labors.

(1) *Life in California, during a Residence of Several Years in that Territory by an American*: p. 73.

(2) *The Deserts of North America*: by Abbé Domenic, vol. 1, p. 239.

Apart entirely from the foregoing consideration respecting the benefits conferred on the natives, the signal advantages indirectly derived by the Government of this country from the presence of the Religious on the coast, should be more than sufficient to shield them from the ungenerous remarks of American writers. It is to the presence of the pioneer Catholic missionaries in California that is due, in all probability, indirectly the fact that this part of the coast forms to-day a portion of the American Republic.

After the failure of Admiral Otando's expedition in 1683, the government of Spain acknowledged its inability to conquer the country, or to make settlements in it. A declaration to this effect was reluctantly made by the agents of the crown, and a determination arrived at of never again embarking on a like speculation. By thus acknowledging their inability to accomplish their purpose, the Spanish authorities may be said to have virtually renounced in favor of others, desirous of making a similar experiment, whatever claim or title they had to the country. That this was sure to be so regarded by others, appears clear from the fact, that in 1768, the same year that the Jesuit Fathers landed in Lower California, a Russian expedition was despatched to the Pacific, with the view of promoting the mercantile and territorial interests of that nation in these parts. The presence of the Religious, however, under the flag

of old Spain, prevented for a time the contemplated purpose. But Russia did not entirely abandon her project, for, in 1807, we find the Chamberlain of his Majesty the Emperor, arriving at the bay of San Francisco, preparatory to forming a settlement on the coast, which was afterward accomplished, at the port of Bodega in 1812.

Meantime, the English, under Rogers, Dampier, Shelvocke and Anson, were frequenting the country, and inclined to regard it as a British possession, in consequence of Drake having taken possession of it in the name of his sovereign; while, on the other hand, the French, in the persons of La Perouse and De Mofras were also endeavoring to establish a claim. It is, therefore, by no means improbable, on the contrary, it is strongly to be credited, that had not the interests of Spain been so largely represented by the devoted Religious, California would have fallen a prey, long before its annexation by the American Republic, to one or other of the nations referred to above.

The circumstances under which the Religious entered on the field of their labors, deserve to be briefly explained, in order to guard against unfavorable impressions. Unlike most missionary work, where the heralds of the Gospel go forth unattended by any, without scrip or staff, trusting for all things to the providence and protection of Him who ruleth the universe and provideth for the requirements of all, the first missionaries to

California were attended by a few faithful companions, and under the protection of a military escort. That this was derogatory to the true spirit of the Gospel, and unworthy of the pioneer Fathers, seems to have been regarded by some, but it should be remembered that the object contemplated by Government was twofold in its character: The conversion of the natives to the Catholic faith, and their subjection to the dominion of Spain, was the double purpose on which the Fathers had embarked. On this condition, and this alone, was it that Spain had placed the interests of the country in their hands. Even admitting that the latter did not enter into their purpose, it is difficult to see how their having taken precautionary measures to save themselves against the violence of the savages, could be laid as a charge at their doors.

Doubtless it is far more impressive and romantic to read of the missionary falling under the tomahawk of the savages, as the first Jesuit Fathers in Canada, than to learn of others of their brethren landing on the shores of an equally barbarous race under the protection of a few armed companions. But, whether the course adopted by the latter may not be more in accordance with reason, and more beneficial to religion and humanity, is a question which is left to the judgment of the reader to determine. Had not the first missionaries to California been attended by some of their Spanish or Mexican

friends, there is every ground to suppose, judging from the future conduct of the natives, that they would have fallen victims to their charitable endeavors at the hands of the savages, and that thus the country would have remained sunk in its barbarism and paganism for generations.

There was also another and more politic motive urging this course. The eastern, or Philippine, trade had to be protected; for this purpose it was necessary that garrisons should be formed along the coast, to prevent the annual Mexican galleon from falling into the hands of the British then infesting the shores. Nor was the hope of preventing the country from falling a prey to some of the nations referred to above, entirely foreign to his Majesty's purpose.

CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE PRECEDING.—GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF THE COUNTRY. —EXPEDITIONS UNDERTAKEN FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE IMAGINARY STRAIT BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND PACIFIC. —TREATY OF Tordesillas. —MAGELLAN SAILS TO THE PHILIPPINES BY A WESTERLY COURSE. —CHARLES V. ORDERS CORTES TO SEEK FOR THE STRAIT —CORTES SENDS CHRISTOPHER DE OLID.—CORTES GOES TO SPAIN. —GRIJALVA'S EXPEDITION. —DISCOVERY OF CALIFORNIA.

THE first quarter of the present century was the most brilliant period of the Catholic missions of California. It was during this time, after the labors of the missionaries had resulted in the conversion of the greater part of the people, that fifty thousand of the inhabitants, strangers to the care, turmoil and ambition of the outer world, dwelt in those peaceful abodes erected everywhere through the country under the fostering care of the Religious. There, day by day, as the duties of religion summoned them to the worship of God, their simple but grateful accents ascended to Heaven in humble acknowledgment of the manifold blessings bestowed on them, both in a spiritual and temporal sense. Instead of rude, illiterate savages, destitute of every idea of religion, and of every social comfort and enjoyment, they now saw themselves in the possession of religion, instructed in the great scheme of Redemption, abounding in bread, comfortably lodged and decently clad.

Even to the most censorious and exacting, the change must appear advantageous and appreciable. To the wild, uncultivated, wandering races moving vaguely from place to place, unconscious alike of the God who created them, as well as the end for which they were destined, succeed, under the care of the Religious, the numerous civilized, Christian congregations, leading most regular and orderly lives, and discharging devoutly the duties that religion demanded at their hands. So happy and contented, indeed, was their condition, before the baneful influence of a ruinous Mexican policy was felt in the land, that one is in every sense justified in regarding their state as amongst the most favored of any neophyte Christian community of the world. But this was not to continue. In the inscrutable designs of divine Providence a climax was reached: the happiest and best days of the Californian missions had come and were gone.

In 1822, Mexico separated from the parent country and proclaimed its independence. This was a most dangerous and ill-boding occurrence for the missions. Men who, while subject to authority, used every means in their power to avoid the execution of orders favorable to the Fathers, now that they were free, were not likely to take measures for promoting their interests. Such, in fact, proved to be the case.

Two years after the Republic was proclaimed, the Christians of California were removed from

under the control of the Fathers: an order arrived at that date for the manumission of all whose characters were unimpeachable. They were to receive certain portions of land and to be entirely independent of the Religious. At the same time the annual salary paid to the Fathers, and derivable from the interest of the Pious Fund, was withheld and appropriated by government; while still later on, the whole of the fund donated originally by the pious benefactors for the exclusive use of religion, was confiscated by Congress and expended for purposes of State.¹ To these, other equally intolerant measures rapidly succeeded. In 1833, the Mexican government passed a decree for the removal of all the Religious,² and the distribution of the lands among the Indians and settlers. The natural consequence of such a radical measure was the ruin and destruction of all that the missionaries had effected since their entry into the country. The Indians, being unprepared for so sweeping a change, when left entirely to themselves, uncontrolled and unsupported by their religious protectors, quickly fell back into their original indolence, and squandered away all that was given them by government, as children are wont to trifle with valuables which accidentally happen to fall into their hands. Of this, even the most unfavor-

(1) The Pious Fund was the aggregate sum of the donations bestowed by the faithful on the Fathers for the use of the missions. Its history will be given in the Second Vol.

(2) They were to be replaced by a secular clergy.

able writers bear unequivocal testimony: "The simple Indians were quite incapable of standing alone, and rapidly gambled away or otherwise squandered the little property assigned to them. Beggary or plunder was only left to them to subsist upon."¹

Such was the unhappy and ruinous consequence of the interference of government with the work of the missionaries. The Indians, when left to themselves, refused, in almost every instance, to labor. They either had not sufficient intelligence to foresee the evils they were bringing upon themselves and their families by abstaining from work, or they had not sufficient determination of purpose to conquer their natural indolence by engaging in those duties they cheerfully undertook at the bidding of the Fathers. Attributable to one cause or the other, the result was equally the same—the temporal and spiritual ruin of the people. Everywhere through the country the lands remained almost wholly untilled, the houses fell into ruins, the herds were destroyed, and the Indians themselves scattered, diminished and demoralized. Indeed, so remarkable and striking was the change effected under these circumstances, that, only we have the most undoubted authority for its reality, we would feel reluctant in accepting it as true.

In the eight years which passed between 1834 and 1842, the live stock belonging to the missions

(1) *Annals of San Francisco*, p. 75.

decreased from eight hundred and eight thousand to sixty-two thousand. The diminution in the agricultural returns was equally significant, the returns having fallen from seventy thousand to four thousand hectoliters, while, as regarded the Indians themselves, their numbers fell from thirty thousand six hundred and fifty to four thousand five hundred.¹

Although the action of the Mexican Government resulted in the almost entire ruin of the missions, Catholicity, withal, did not lose its hold upon the country. Another and more brilliant era was about to open upon the Church. In the ineffable designs of Divine Providence, the native Christian congregations were to be succeeded by Europeans. Upon the ruins of the old missions was to arise a new and more beautiful Church, fair and noble in all its proportions, combining within its fold men of almost every clime and every race, Celt and Saxon, Frank and Teuton, those from the banks of the Tiber, as well as those from the Guadalquiver and the Mississippi, and thus second only in numbers and affluence to some of the oldest and most prominent centres of Catholic unity within the limits of the Republic. This is the modern Church of California. How it came to be formed, how its numbers increased, its churches arose, its religious houses were founded, its institutions established,

(1) Vide *Exploration du Territoire de L'Oregon, des Californies et de la Mer Vermeille*; vol. 1, p. 321.

its bishoprics formed and its clergy increased, the reader shall learn in the latter half of the work.

In the older and less perfect geographies, the boundaries assigned to California were considerably greater than its present dimensions. Up almost to modern times its geographical limits were but vaguely defined. John Bleau, in his voluminous work published at Amsterdam, in 1622, comprehended in California all the countries west of New Spain and New Galicia, even to the Anian Straits. "*California communiter dicitur quidquid terrarum Novæ Hispaniæ atque Novæ Galiciæ ad occidentem objicitur, quæ sane latissime patent et ad extremos Americæ meridionalis terminos et fretum quod vulgo Anian vocant, pertinent.*" The limits thus assigned to the country by Bleau, and others of that period, were never generally accepted. They however gave what, in their day, was supposed to be the country's dimensions.

By California in its present limits, comprising the Upper and Lower countries of that name, is understood that line or tract of coast land on the western shores of the North American continent between the twenty-second and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, and the one hundred and ninth and one hundred and twenty-fourth degrees of west longitude. Its extreme length, from Cape St. Lucas in the south to Cape Mendocino in the north, is about five hundred leagues, or fifteen hundred miles. It varies in breadth from thirty to

three hundred miles and more. The superficial area of this belt of coast land is for Lower California two hundred thousand square miles; and for Upper one hundred and eighty thousand nine hundred and eighty-two, making a total of three hundred and eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and eighty-two square miles for the entire country. Upper California extends about seven hundred and fifty miles northwest to Oregon, from the thirty-second to the forty-second parallel of latitude.

It is to the indomitable energy and liberal munificence of the conqueror of Mexico that we owe the discovery of the country, under the following circumstances. In 1522, after the conquest of Mexico, Fernando Cortes acquainted his royal master, Charles V., with his design of discovering the imaginary strait supposed to exist between the American continents. It is proper to observe, that after the discovery of America, at the close of the fifteenth century, by Christopher Columbus or Colon, an opinion was current in Europe that the Atlantic communicated with the Pacific by a strait in the vicinity of what is now known as the Isthmus of Panama. It was with the view of finding this passage, and thereby facilitating the voyage to the Indies, of which so much was then spoken, that the adventurous Spaniard entered upon his fourth and last voyage. The extraordinary accounts given of the riches of the East by

the Venetian and Florentine merchants, as well as the exaggerated description of travelers, whose works then for the first time began to attract public attention, inflamed the public mind with the desire of being able to traffic directly with those nations, and not as before, through Mahometan agency.

In 1499, Vasco de Gama returned from his voyage to the East by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. This, while it opened a new but difficult passage to the Indies, only increased the desire of finding a shorter and less perilous route. To satisfy the public desire then, as also to accommodate himself to the wish of the monarch, Admiral Columbus sailed from the Tagus for the fourth and last time in his life, in 1502. He had promised their Catholic Majesties on starting that nothing would be left unaccomplished to discover the passage. Faithful to his promise, he carefully examined the coast as far north as the Gulf of Honduras, without, it is unnecessary to say, having found the imaginary strait.

From this till 1523, several attempts were made to discover the passage. In 1514, the Portuguese discovered the Moluccas, which the Spaniards claimed as their own, in accordance with the treaty of Tordecillas, by which it had been agreed that all the countries to the distances of three hundred and seventy leagues east of the Azores should belong to the Portuguese crown, and all to

the west to the kingdom of Spain. This was the memorable treaty known as the "Partition of the Ocean." It was occasioned by the inconveniences arising from the immunities granted by different Popes to the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs. In 1454, Pope Nicholas V. granted, by a Bull of approval to Portugal, all the discoveries she had made, or might afterward make, on the African coast and to the east. On the other hand, Ferdinand and Isabella obtained a counter prerogative from Alexander VI., by which they were to enjoy and inherit all the discoveries made to the west.¹ As the limits in both cases were but vaguely defined, the pretensions of the monarchs eventually became a matter of dispute in the case of the Moluccas, and hence the treaty alluded to respecting the division of the ocean.

To obviate, as far as was practicable, the difficulty of the case, Magellan and Falero proposed to Cardinal Ximenes, to sail to the island by a western route, if aided by Government. From what motive it is not stated, but the proposal did not meet with approval at the hands of his Eminence. The matter remained in abeyance till after his death, when the offer was renewed to the monarch in person, and with greater success; for, in the year 1519, Magellan started on his voyage. After crossing the equator, he steered along the southern coast till he came to the strait to which he has

(1) See Bull and Explanation at end of chapter.

given his name. Through it he effected a passage, with considerable difficulty, into the southern ocean. Continuing his voyage, he arrived at the Ladrones, and subsequently at the Philippines, where he unfortunately perished, with some of his companions. The others continued the voyage till they came to the Moluccas, whence they returned to Spain, in 1522, by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This was the first complete voyage made around the globe, and was effected in the space of three years.

A new, though long and difficult, passage to the Indies being now discovered, and the position of the world better determined, the general desire was increased of finding a readier route; Charles V. was as deeply interested in the matter as any of his subjects. In 1523 he sent orders to Cortes to seek for the strait on both sides of the continent. Cortes was not then in a position to fully carry out the royal commands, and contented himself with sending Christopher de Olid, with Habuercas and Hortado, to take a survey of the coast on the eastern side. Meantime the general opinion regarding the existence of the strait was increased, in consequence of information received from the natives by Pedro Alvarado. Writing to Cortes from Mazatlan, he says: "They (the natives) also told me that at five days journey beyond a very large city, which is twenty days journey from hence, this land terminates; and this they posi-

tively declare. If so, there is no question with me but this is the strait."

For the solution of the problem, it was necessary that an expedition should be formed for the careful survey of the western coast. To this end, Cortes caused to be carried across from Vera Cruz, on the Atlantic, to Zacatulla, on the Pacific, materials for the construction of four vessels, two caravals and two brigantines. He also despatched a number of artisans for the execution of the work. His plan, however, was frustrated for a time by an unhappy occurrence. After the arrival of the workmen and materials, the magazine accidentally took fire, when all was destroyed but the iron. To any but a man such as Cortes, this would have presented an insurmountable difficulty; but, ominous as the occurrence may have appeared, he did not permit it to interfere with his project, for he immediately gave orders for purchasing and forwarding similar material. His object in fitting out the expedition was not so much with the view of discovering the strait (as may be seen from the following extract of a letter to his Majesty), as of discovering new and unheard of dominions. Writing to the Emperor from Mexico, he says: "I place value on these ships beyond all expression, being certain that with them, if it please God, I shall be the instrument of your imperial Majesty being in these parts sovereign of more kingdoms and dominions than have been hitherto known in

our nation. May God please to prosper it in his good pleasure, that your Majesty may obtain such an unparalleled advantage; for I believe that when I have performed this, your Highness may be monarch of the whole world, whenever you please.”¹

In the following clause of the same letter, he expresses the hope of finding the strait, and the important advantages likely to result from it: “In the former clause, most potent Lord, I have specified to your Majesty the parts whither I have sent people, both by land and sea, with which, under the divine favor, I believe your Highness will be greatly pleased. And, as it is my continual care and employment to project every possible way of putting into execution my zeal for the service of your royal Majesty, seeing nothing further is remaining but the knowledge of the coast yet undiscovered between the river Panaco and Florida, surveyed by Captain Juan Ponce de Leon, and from thence to the northern coast of the said country of Florida, as far as the Baccaloas, *it being certain* that on that coast is the strait running into the south sea; and if it be found, according to the true draft which I have of that part of the sea near the archipelago, which by your Highness’ orders Magellan discovered, I am of opinion it will issue very near it. And, if it please the Lord that the said strait join there, the voyage to the Spice

(1) Vide *Cartas de Cortes*: page 374.

Islands will be so convenient for these, your Majesty's dominions, that it will be two thirds shorter than the present course; and without any hazard in going or coming, for the voyage will be entirely among the states and countries belonging to your Highness; that, in any necessity, they may safely put in where most convenient, as in a country belonging to your Highness, whose flag they carry."

After pointing out to his Majesty the expenses necessary to be incurred, he continues: "Thus, I think of sending ships, which I have caused to be built, into the south sea, that, God willing, they may by the end of July, 1524, sail downward along the same coast, in quest of the same strait. For, if there be any such thing, it must appear either to those in the south sea or to those in the north; as those in the south are to keep the coast in sight till they find the said strait, or, that the land joins with that which was discovered by Magellan; and the other on the north, as I have said, till they find the land joins with the Baccoloas.

"Thus, on the one side or the other, this important question must be solved. I hereby inform your Majesty, that by the intelligence I have received of the countries on the upper coast of the south sea, the sending of those ships along it will be attended with great advantage to me, and no less to your Majesty. But, acquainted as I am with your Majesty's desire of knowing this strait,

and likewise of the great service the discovery of it would be to your royal crown, I have laid aside all other profits and advantages of which I have the most certain knowledge, in order to follow entirely this course. The Lord direct it according to his good pleasure, and may your Majesty obtain your desire, and likewise mine of serving you."

"Mexico, October 15th, 1524."

The zeal manifested by Cortes, in this letter to the Emperor, is thought to be due rather to a desire of regaining his fast-failing reputation and ascendancy than to a single-minded purpose of serving the crown. "He flattered himself," says the author of the political essay on New Spain, "that he would be able by the brilliancy of his achievements to silence the representations of his enemies."

When the vessels to which he alluded in his letter to the Emperor were finished, he received orders to send them in search of the "Trinity," one of Magellan's, which had been lost on the way to the Philippines. The expedition was in consequence retarded for a while. Meantime, Cortes returned to Spain, where he was highly honored by the Emperor, being made Marquis of Gaxacara, Captain General of New Spain, and the provinces and coast to the south. He also received from the crown, both for himself and his heirs, the twelfth part of whatever he conquered, but on the condition of providing the expedition himself.

The following year he returned to Mexico, and, according to agreement, fitted out at his private expense the vessels required for his purpose. These he despatched on a voyage of discovery, in charge of his relative, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, but, unfortunately, the expedition miscarried.¹ One ship's company mutinied against their commander, and the other, in which Hurtado himself had command, was lost. Cortes was still unshaken in his purpose. He had resolved to prosecute the inquiry to the end, even under the most unfavorable circumstances. With this view he ordered other vessels to be built immediately.

The new expedition was entrusted to Hernando Grijalva and Diego Beccera de Mendoza, Ortun Ximenes being pilot. They put to sea in 1534, and, although ordered not to part company, they were accidentally separated the first night, and never met again during the voyage. Grijalva, after sailing north some three hundred leagues, returned to New Spain, without further discovery than that of a barren island, supposed to be one of a group off the Californian coast.² Mendoza,

(1) Three Franciscans—Father Martin de la Coruña and two others accompanied this expedition. See *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*: vol. 5, p. 7.

(2) Humboldt says that Grijalva landed in California, but he does not cite any authority in support of his assertion. On the other hand, Miguel Venegas, the oldest and most reliable author, tells us, indirectly, that he did not; except, indeed, landing on an island off the coast can be regarded as such. "Grijalva, after sailing three hundred leagues, came to a desert island, which he called Santo Thome, and is believed to lie near the point of California." *Hist. Cal., Venegas*; vol. 1, p. 134.

the master of the other vessel fared even worse. Being of a haughty and tyrannical disposition, he so angered a part of the crew, that seizing the first opportunity, they fell upon him and murdered him, instigated, it is said, by the pilot. Ximenes thereupon became master of the vessel, and continued the voyage; but, going ashore in the vicinity of Santa Cruz Bay, was murdered, together with twenty of his companions, by the natives.¹ The vessel was taken back to Mexican waters by the survivors. Still resolved upon prosecuting the inquiry, and determined this time at least to avoid a repetition of the disaster, Cortes formed the resolution of making in person a final attempt. Having notified his intention to this effect, numerous adventurous spirits, attracted alike by the novelty of the enterprise, as well as by the ability of the man, flocked to his standard. With these, he started from Chiametla, on the coast of New Spain, and steered for that part of the coast where Ximenes had met with his death. He had with him all the requisites necessary for planting a colony—four hundred Spaniards, three hundred negro slaves, an abundant supply of farm

(1) Although it is very generally believed that Ximenes' party landed in California, it is yet not entirely beyond doubt.—Prescott and Taylor, see *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. III, p. 334, and *Exploration of Lower California*, p. 15—are of this opinion, but they have forgotten to give us the authority on which they make the assertion. Even granting that Ximenes did arrive at Santa Cruz Bay (which is by no means beyond doubt), he might have gone ashore only on one of the islands, and have been murdered there by the natives. All that Venegas says, is this: "For, coming to that part which has since been called Santa Cruz Bay, and seems to be a part of the inward coast of California, he went ashore, and was there killed by the Indians." *Hist. Cal., Venegas*.



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implements, seeds, and everything else required for the undertaking. With these he crossed the entrance to the gulf, and after very considerable difficulty, in which his vessels were often in a most perilous position from violent storms, he landed eventually on Californian soil, at Santa Cruz Bay, toward the beginning of June, 1536; thereby earning for himself the honor of being the first known discoverer of this part of the American Continent.¹

(1) I have used the expression "first known discoverer," for the author of the *Political Essay on New Spain*, in a note at page 321 of his work, says: "I found in a manuscript, preserved in the archives of the viceroyalty of Mexico, that California was discovered in 1526. I know not on what authority this assertion is founded. Cortes, in his letters to the Emperor, written so late as 1524, frequently speaks of the pearls which were found near the island of the South Sea (California was then thought to be an island); however, the extract made by the author of the *Relacion del Viaje al Estrecho de Fuca* (P. VII, xxii,) from the valuable manuscripts preserved in the Academy of History, at Madrid, seem to prove that California had not been seen in the expedition of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, in 1532." (See *Political Essay on New Spain*.)

THE BULL "INTER CETERA DIVINÆ MAGISTRATE BENEPLACITA OPERA," &c.

ALEXANDER, BISHOP, SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD:
To our beloved son Ferdinand, King, and to our beloved daughter Isabella, Queen of Castile, Leon, Arragon, the Sicilies, and Granada: Most illustrious personages, health and apostolic benediction.

Among the many works pleasing to the divine Majesty and desirable to our hearts, this particularly prevails, that the Catholic faith and Christian religion, especially in our times, may be exalted, amplified, and everywhere diffused, the salvation of souls procured, and barbarous

nations subjugated and made obedient to the faith. Hence, when we were raised by the divine clemency, though of little merit, to the holy chair of Peter, knowing you to be true Catholic kings and princes, as indeed we have always known you to be, and as you have also by your illustrious deeds made yourselves known as such to the whole world: nor did you merely desire to be such, but you have also used every effort, study, and diligence, sparing no fatigue, no cost, no danger, even shedding your own blood, and devoting your whole soul and all your energies to this purpose, as your conquest of the kingdom of Granada from the tyranny of the Saracens in our days, with such glory to the divine name, testifies; we are induced, not unworthily, and we ought, to grant to you those things favorably and spontaneously by which you may be able to prosecute this undertaking, so holy and praiseworthy to the immortal God, and that you may daily increase more and more in fervor for the honor of God and the propagation of the kingdom of Christ.

We have heard to our great joy that you have proposed to labor and use every exertion, that the inhabitants of certain islands and continents remote, and hitherto unknown, and of others yet undiscovered, be reduced to worship our Redeemer and profess the Catholic faith. Till now you have been fully occupied in the conquest and capture of Granada, and could not accomplish your holy and praiseworthy desires nor obtain the results you wished. You sent, not without the greatest exertions, dangers, and expense, our beloved son Christopher Colon, a man of worth and much to be commended, fit for such business, with vessels and cargoes, diligently to search for continents and remote and unknown islands on a sea hitherto never navigated; who finally, with the divine assistance and great diligence, navigated the vast ocean, and discovered certain most distant islands and continents which were previously unknown, in which

very many nations dwell peaceably, and, as it is said, go naked and abstain from animal food, and, as far as your ambassadors can conjecture, believe there is one God, Creator, in heaven, and seem sufficiently apt to embrace the Catholic faith, and might be imbued with good morals, and have every reason to believe that, if instructed, the name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ may easily be established in the said islands and continents; that in these islands and continents already have been found gold, spices, and many other articles of value of different kinds and qualities. Every thing being diligently considered, especially for the exaltation and diffusion of the Catholic faith, (as it behooveth Catholic kings and princes,) according to the custom of your ancestors, kings of illustrious memory, you have proposed to subjugate the aforementioned islands and continents, with their inhabitants, to yourselves, with the assistance of the divine goodness, and reduce them to the Catholic faith, and that the said Christopher Colon may construct and build a fortress on one of the principal islands of sufficient strength to protect certain Christians who may emigrate thither.

We therefore very much commend in the Lord this your holy and praiseworthy intention; and that you may bring it to the proper end, and by it establish the name of our Lord in those parts, we strenuously exhort you in the Lord, and by your baptism, by which you are obligated to the apostolic mandates, and by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, we earnestly exact of you, that, when you undertake and assume an expedition of this kind, you do it with a humble spirit, and with zeal for the orthodox faith; and you must wish, and ought to induce the people living in those islands and continents to receive the Christian religion; and let no dangers, no fatigues, at any time deter you, but entertain

hope and faith that Almighty God may crown your efforts with happy success.

To enable you more freely and more boldly to assume the undertaking of such an enterprise, by the liberality of our apostolic favor, *motu proprio*, and not at your request, nor by the presentation of any petition to us on this subject for you, but of our pure liberality, and from the certain knowledge and plenitude of apostolic power, we grant to you and your heirs, and your successors, kings of Castile, Leon, &c., and by the present letters give forever, all the islands and continents discovered and to be discovered, explored and to be explored, towards the west and south, forming and drawing a line from the arctic pole, that is the north, to the antarctic pole, that is the south, whether the islands or continents discovered or to be discovered lie towards India or towards any other part, which line is distant from one of the islands vulgarly called Azores y Cabo Verde one hundred leagues west and south; so that all the islands and continents discovered or to be discovered, explored or to be explored, beyond the aforementioned line towards the west and south, not actually possessed by other kings or Christian princes before the day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ last past, from which the present year 1493 commences, when any of the said islands are discovered by your emissaries or captains, we, by the authority of Almighty God, given to us in St. Peter as vicar of Jesus Christ, which authority we exercise on earth, assign you and your heirs and said successors all the dominions over those states, places and towns, with all rights, jurisdiction, and all their appurtenances, with full, free, and all power, authority, and jurisdiction. We make, constitute and depute, discerning nevertheless by our donation, concession and assignment of this kind, that the rights cannot

be understood to be taken away from any Christian prince who actually possessed such islands or continents before the aforementioned day of Christ's nativity, nor are to be deprived of them.

We moreover command you, by virtue of holy obedience, (as you have promised, and we doubt not from your great devotion and royal magnanimity that you will do it,) that you send to the said islands and continents tried men, who fear God, learned and skillful, and expert to instruct the inhabitants in the Catholic faith and teach them good morals, using proper diligence in the aforementioned things, and we forbid every one, under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*, no matter what may be his dignity,—even imperial, royal,—state, order or condition, to act contrary to this our mandate. And we severely forbid any one to go to the islands or continents discovered or to be discovered, explored or to be explored, towards the west or south, beyond the line drawn from the arctic to the antarctic pole, one hundred leagues from one of the islands commonly called Azores y Cabo Verde, towards the west and south; and let no one, for trade or any other reason, presume to approach without your special license, or that of your heirs and successors aforementioned, notwithstanding constitutions or apostolic ordinances, or any thing contrary to it. Trusting God, from whom empires and dominations, and all good things proceed, will direct your actions if you prosecute this holy and praiseworthy object—hoping that shortly your labors and efforts may obtain a most happy termination, and redound to the glory of all Christian people.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1493, 9th of May, and first year of our pontificate.

ALEXANDER.

Few Papal documents have ever excited such unfavorable comment as this. Non-Catholic writers generally point to it as an evidence of the extravagant and unjustifiable pretensions of the head of the Catholic Church, in seeking to dispose of kingdoms and countries at pleasure. It must, indeed, be admitted that the terms of the Bull, taken without an explanatory clause, admit of such an unfavorable interpretation. The Catholic Church, however, has ever disclaimed for herself such a prerogative; she has never assumed the right to destroy the autonomy of nations, Christian or Pagan. Her every grant and concession has always been interpreted in harmony with that common principle of civil and canon law, "*concessio quantumvis ampla et absoluta sit verbo, debet intelligi restricta ad terminos juris et æqui.*"

All the theological writers, too, from the time of Alexander down to the present, have unanimously interpreted the Bull in a sense favorable to the rights and independence of the American races. Bellarmin, one of the greatest authorities, after referring to the document, puts himself this objection: "*At Alexander VI. divisit orbem nuper inventum regibus Hispaniæ et Lusitaniæ. Respondio non: non divisit ad eum finem ut reges illi proficiscerentur ad debellandos reges infideles novi orbis et eorum regna occupanda, sed solum ut eos adducerent fidei Christianæ predicatorum, et protegerent ac defenderent tum ipsos predicatorum*

tum Christianos ab eis conversos et simul ut impedirent contentiones et bella principum Christianorum qui in illis novis regionibus negociari volebant." (*De Summo Pont.*, Lib. V., C. 2.)

Paul III., in his brief "Pastorale Officium," issued May 22d, 1537, forty-four years after the occurrence, explains the grant in a similar sense. But what is more satisfactory still, as showing the sense in which the Bull was intended, is another almost similar document—an Apostolic Letter addressed by the same sovereign Pontiff to the King of Portugal, in which explanatory clauses are found. In this apostolic letter, which was of the same tenor as the Bull, conferred the same rights and privileges, and was framed almost in the same language, we read the following clauses: "De civitatibus, castris, etc. Infidelium, quæ te in Dominum cognoscere *velle* contigerit, auctoritate apostolica, etc." And again: "Districtius inhibentes quibuscumque regibus ne se contra *sic* se tibi *subjicere volentes* quovis modo apponere, etc." (*Raynaldi Annales.*)

The Kings of Spain, though naturally inclined to extend their privileges as far as possible, also understood the grant in this sense, as is clear from the laws enacted at the time for the American colonies, a digest of which has been published under the title of "Recopilacion de leyes de los reynos de las Indias." In this series, under the heading "De los Descubrimientos," the following enactment oc-

curs: "En estas y en las demas poblaciones la Tierra adentro, eligan el sitio de los que estuvieren *vacantes*, y por disposicion nuestra se pueden ocupar *sin perjuicio* de los Indios, y de los Naturales, o con su *libre consentimiento*."

The meaning of the Bull, "Inter Cetera," was not an authorization to make war on the American races, to violently take possession of their country by force of arms to the detriment of their national rights, but solely to bring them to a knowledge of the Christian religion, and when converted, to protect and defend them against enemies, as also to prevent other sovereigns of Europe from trading with or otherwise enriching themselves by a communication with those peoples. If, in the prosecution of this task, the Kings of Castile, and their responsible agents, exceeded the limits of the grant, this is not an offence to be charged to the account of the Church.

Nothing, indeed, as several historians have justly remarked, could be grander or more worthy of the age than that of two powerful monarchs thus submitting their differences to the arbitration of the common Father of the Faithful. If only such a mode of settling disputes and determining rights had been continued during subsequent ages, how many deplorable wars would have been avoided; how much bloodshed would have been spared; how many rights preserved.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANIARDS IN FLORIDA. — ARRIVAL OF NARVAEZ' FORCES. — THEIR ADVENTURES AND MISFORTUNES. — MOST OF THEM DIE. — FOUR MAKE THEIR WAY ACROSS THE COUNTRY TO THE PACIFIC. — THE MIRACLES THEY PERFORMED. — THEIR ARRIVAL IN MEXICO.

WHILE Cortes was engaged in the conquest of Mexico, and his discoveries in the southern ocean, the interests of Spain were suffering severely in another part of the country. From 1512 to 1542 a series of disasters attended the arms of the Spanish commanders in the valley of the Mississippi.¹ Most of the forces of Leon, Cordova, and Ayllan perished in the war with the natives. Of the three hundred Spaniards who landed in Florida in 1527, under the command of Narvaez, three only: Cabeça de Vaca, Castillo, and Durantes remained to tell the tale of the disaster. These, with Estavanico, a negro who happened to be of the party, after wandering for an entire decade among the savages of the country, arrived at Culiacan, on the shores of the Pacific, the very year that Cortes landed in California. The hardships and privations they endured had so altered them in manner and appearance, that they were known only as Spaniards by their language. The accounts they gave their

(1) See *Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 13.

brethren in Mexico of their singular adventures, and the miracles which the Almighty had been pleased to work at their hands in behalf of the natives, excited the wonder and admiration of all. A summary of these wonders, it is thought, will not be uninteresting to the reader.

On the seventeenth June, 1527, a Spanish fleet of five vessels, with six hundred men and forty horse, under the command of Pamphilo de Narvaez, sailed from old Spain, with the view of conquering and colonizing a portion of the Atlantic coast, from the extremity of Florida to what was then known as the river Palmas. The expedition was accompanied by four Franciscans, who, like most of their companions, perished in the unfortunate attempt. After experiencing considerable difficulty and danger at sea, especially at the island of Trinidad, where in a storm they lost sixty of their companions and twenty of the horse, they ultimately arrived at their destination, on the morning of Holy Thursday of the year 1528.

The following day, after disembarking the greater part of the men, they took formal possession of the country in the name of his Majesty, a circumstance always observed in those days by the Spaniards before making a settlement.

Their arrival on the coast, instead of being as they expected the end of their difficulties, was only the commencement of their misfortunes. From some unaccountable cause—culpable inat-

tention, it would appear, on the part of the proper authorities in laying in the necessary stores—their stock of provisions was all but exhausted. The impossibility of obtaining another supply on the coast, rendered it necessary, in order to avoid a miserable end, to make for some near and populous native possession. By signs, they were led to believe, by the natives, that at a place called Apalache, some distance in the interior, there was an abundance of all they required. Trusting to the truth of the statement, and encouraged moreover with the hope of the riches they were induced to believe they would find in the place, the greater part of the expeditionary force, three hundred men and forty horse, set out for the country of the Apalaches, the remainder being left in charge of the vessels, with instructions to steer a little in advance, and there await the arrival of their companions.

The expeditionary party was but poorly provided for the journey—only having two and a half pounds of provisions for each man. After traveling continuously for fifteen days, living as best they could on the little sustenance afforded them by nature, they finally arrived at the place they had sought, but only to find it a miserable village of two score, or more, insignificant huts. Instead of the abundant supply of provisions, the gold, silver and valuables in which they were led to expect the place did abound, they found, on

the contrary, only a limited quantity of maize, a few dozen deerskins, and some mantlets of thread. Thus disappointed, and suffering severely from want, they directed their course to the sea, with the view of being able to fall in with the vessels. In this, however, they were again subject to disappointment, for on reaching the shore no vessel was to be seen. Either they had gone on in advance, or had met with some accident and were unable to arrive.

In this critical position, destitute of all means of support, save the roots, berries and vermin on which the natives were accustomed to live, only one possible means seemed left to them of rescuing themselves from a most miserable death. It was to construct a few little barks, and coast along the shore till they fell in with their former companions, or arrived at a more hospitable port. For the accomplishment of this, however, implements and appliances were needed, of which they were utterly destitute. They had none of the conveniences necessary for building a vessel. Hatchets, saws, nails, hammers, ropes, sails and caulking, were all alike equally wanting to them. All they possessed were their clothes, their muskets, and the trappings of the horses. How to construct with these a sea-going craft, capable of affording accommodation to over two hundred persons, was a problem which, under more favorable circumstances, would have presented insuperable diffi-

culty. Even in the extremity to which they were reduced, the work was at first regarded impossible. But when life is depending on individual energy, the powers of the mind are marvelously active. There is an aphorism: "Necessity is the mother of invention." It was so in this individual instance.

One of the company, more ingenious than his companions, by constructing a bellows from a deer-skin and some pieces of wood, struck at the root of the difficulty. A gleam of hope now shone over all; a passage from the valley of death was then clearly to be seen. The bellows at work, axes, saws and hammers were quickly made out of the nails, spurs, stirrups and saddle-bows of the cavalry! The fibres of the palmetto supplied excellent tow for caulking; the pitching was done with a certain resin which exuded from the trees in the locality. The manes and tails of the horses were found to answer remarkably the purpose of ropes and rigging, while, from out the shirts of the company, tolerably respectable sails were effected!

Sixteen days were thus spent in forming five little craft, each capable of affording accommodation to about fifty of the number. The work had to be hurried on as rapidly as possible, for even the horseflesh, on which they mainly relied for support, was well nigh exhausted. In fine, on the 27th of September, 1528, the entire number, consisting of two hundred and forty-two persons, the

remainder having died from hunger and exhaustion, put to sea in the wretched little vessels, gotten up in the manner described. Whither they were to proceed, to what port they were to steer, where to seek aid and release from their miseries, they were entirely unconscious of. One thing only was certain; that to avoid a most certain and inevitable death, it was necessary to betake themselves somewhere. Even the chances of escaping the perils of the deep, in the frailest of barks, while struggling for life, was better and more preferable than perishing helplessly from starvation, on shore.

For several days, they coasted cautiously in a southern direction, constantly exposed to the danger of being swamped by the sea, of being attacked by the natives from land, and suffering not a little, meanwhile, from the inclemency of the season, and the want of the necessary supplies. Finally, they arrived at an island, which they subsequently styled the Island of Malhado, or Misfortune, a name sufficiently indicative of the sufferings they must have endured on it. There, the greater number of the company, worn out by hunger, fatigue and exposure, ended their misfortunes in death. The relation given of their terrible privations, at this stage of their adventures, by one of the survivors, is touching and painful in the extreme. Deprived of every other means of support, they were compelled to feed on the bodies

of their departed companions, taking even the precautionary measure of smoking and drying the flesh, in order to preserve it for subsequent use. But even this repulsive and unnatural means of support was necessarily limited. In one instance, a number of the ill-fated men lived in this fashion, the survivors feeding on the flesh of the departed, each prolonging his existence as far as was possible, until, in the end, only one had remained!

The greater number shortly succumbed to their terrible sufferings; a few only held out for some months; but even the majority of these eventually sank under their trials, when there only remained those of whom we are speaking; and who eventually succeeded in crossing the continent, and joining their brethren on the Pacific, thereby accomplishing the most remarkable journey on record in the annals of this country. The names of the four were those we have mentioned at the commencement of the chapter.

For six years they remained in the capacity of slaves, employed by the natives in searching for roots, shell fish and berries. Their condition was indeed a most trying and deplorable one; for, oftentimes, not being able to procure sufficient to satisfy the hunger of their masters, they were subjected to the greatest indignity and punishment. In fine, feeling that life, under such a condition, was a burden rather than a boon—that death would be preferable to such an existence,

they resolved upon crossing the continent, or perishing in the attempt. Strangers, indigent, ignorant alike of the countries and peoples through whom they should pass, not to speak of the distance and natural difficulties of the way, the journey was to them a most arduous and perilous enterprise. But the Almighty, who is never absent from his servants, was present with them in their trials, shielded them from their numerous enemies, and safely conducted them from out of their bondage. Like another Joseph in Egypt, or Patrick in Ireland, the mercies of the Lord were ever upon them. What facilitated their journey, or rather what opened them a passage at all from the country, were the numerous marvelous works which the Almighty was pleased to effect at their hands, in favor of the Gentiles. It is true, there is no other proof of the truth of these wonders, than the statement of the parties themselves. The relation, however, is made in so modest and, apparently, trustworthy a manner, that it would be both rash and unreasonable to withhold our assent, especially as their statements in other respects, regarding the customs and habits of the people, have since been shown to be true.¹ Moreover, there is hardly any other plausible way of accounting for their safety and deliverance, seeing that they had to pass through so many and such barbarous tribes, noted for their cruelty and hostility to strangers.

(1) See notes to Smith's Translation of *Cabeca de Vaca*.

The circumstance under which the Almighty was first pleased to work cures at their hands, is thus simply and unassumingly narrated by the leader of the party: "In the island of which I have spoken (Malhado), they wished to make us physicians, without examination, or inquiring for our diplomas. They cure by blowing upon the sick; and by the breath and the imposing of hands they cast out infirmity. They ordered us that we should do this likewise, and be of use to them in something. We laughed at what they did, telling them that it was folly, and that we knew not how to heal. In consequence, they withheld food from us, until we should do what they required. Seeing our persistence, an Indian said to me that I knew not what I uttered in saying that that profited nothing which he knew, for that the stones and other things which grow in the fields, have virtue, and that he, by passing a hot stone along the stomach, took away pain, and restored health, and that we, who were extraordinary men, must, of all others, possess the greatest power and efficacy. At last, we found ourselves in so great want, that we were obliged to obey; but, however, not without fear that we should be blamed for any failure of success.

"The custom is, on finding themselves sick, to send for a physician, and after the cure, they give him not only all that they have, but they seek among their relatives for more to give. The prac-

tioner scarifies over the seat of pain, and then sucks about the wounds. They make cauteries with fire, which is a remedy among them in high repute; and I have tried it on myself, and been benefited by it. They afterwards blow on the spot that is scarified, and having finished, the patient believes that he is relieved.

“The method that we practiced, was to bless the sick, breathe upon them, and recite a Pater-noster and an Ave Maria, praying with all earnestness to God, our Lord, that he would give them health, and influence them to do us some great good. In his mercy, he willed that all those for whom we supplicated, should, directly after we made the sign of the blessed Cross over them, tell the others that they were sound in health! For this, the Indians treated us kindly; they deprived themselves of food, that they might give to us, and they presented us with some skins and some trifles.”¹ The next instance of this kind, of which the writer makes mention, was after they had crossed to the main land, and effected their escape. Two days after they fled from their masters, they arrived at a village, where they were received by the natives with every demonstration of joy, because of the account of their works having already preceded them. “That same night of our arrival,” continues the narrator, “there came some Indians to Castillo, and told him that they

(1) *Narrative of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca*: Translated by Buckingham Smith; pp. 51-52.

had great pain in the head, begging him to cure them. After he had made over them *the sign of the Cross*, and commended them to God, instantly they said that all the pain had left; and they went to their houses, and brought us many pears and a piece of venison, a thing to us little known. As the report of his performance spread, there came many others to us that night, sick, that we should heal them; and each brought with him a piece of venison; until the quantity was so great we knew not where to dispose of it. We gave many thanks to God, for every day went on increasing his compassion and his gifts. After the sick were attended to, they began to dance and enact their ceremonial rejoicing, until the morning, at sunrise; and because of our arrival, their festivities were continued for three days."¹

The fame of the Christians was now fully established; nothing was spoken of in the country but the marvelous cures they had so readily effected, and the wonders they were capable of doing. Report had even magnified, rather than diminished, the greatness of the works which the Almighty was pleased to work at their hands. In consequence, crowds of the natives were attracted to their presence from every quarter, some to look upon such remarkable beings, some to obtain their benediction, and not a few to solicit a cure for their infirmities. The faith and confidence of the

(1) *Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca*; p. 70.

people increased to such a degree that they believed them even capable of raising the dead to life. And there are even grounds for supposing that the Lord did bestow upon them such a marvelous grace. Amongst others to whom they were called to administer, was one who was said to be in the agonies of death. The account of the transaction is best given in the words of the performer himself: "At the end of the second day after our arrival, there came to us some of the Lusolas, and besought Castillo that he would go to cure one wounded and others sick: and they said that among them there was one very near his end. Castillo was a timid practitioner, and chiefly so in the cases most fearful and dangerous; for he believed that his sins must weigh upon him, and at some time hinder him from performing cures. The Indians told me to go and heal them, for they liked me well, and remembered that I had ministered to them in the walnut grove, for which they had given us nuts and skins, and it occurred when I first joined the Christians. So I had to go with them, and Dorantes accompanied me with Estavastico. When I came near their huts, I perceived that the sick man we went to heal was dead; for there were many persons around him weeping, and his house was prostrate, which is a sign that the one who dwelt in it is dead. When I arrived I found the eyes of the Indian rolled up, he was without pulse, and having all the appearances of

death, as they seemed to me, and as Dorantes said. I removed the mat with which he was covered, and I supplicated our Lord as fervently as I could that he might be pleased to give health to him, and to all the rest who might have need of it. After he had been blessed and breathe upon many times, they brought me his bow and gave me a basket of pounded pears.

“They took me to cure many others who were sick of a stupor, and they presented me with two more baskets of pears, which I gave to the Indians who had accompanied us. We then went back to our lodgings. Those to whom we gave the pears tarried, and returned to their houses at night, and reported that he who had been dead, and for whom I had wrought before them, had got up hale, and had walked and eaten and spoken with them, and that all to whom I had ministered *were well and very merry*. This caused great wonder and fear, and in all the land they spoke of nothing else. All those to whom the fame of it reached, came to seek us, that we should cure them and bless their children.”¹

It was here, while residing in this particular part of the country, that they heard of the following remarkable circumstance: Several years previous to their arrival the inhabitants of the locality were very much tormented and alarmed by the frequent appearance among them of an apparently

(1) *De Vaca*; p. 73.

preternatural being, who, on account of his character and conduct, they unanimously denominated by the name of "the evil one." He invariably appeared at their doors and entered their dwellings with a torch in his hands, and though to appearance in the shape of a man, they were never able to catch a glimpse of his features. His conduct was as strange and mysterious as his appearance was alarming, for, after inflicting upon them terrible wounds, he would presently heal them by the mere effect of his touch. When asked whence he had come and where he abode, he replied by pointing to a fissure in the earth, saying that there was his home. A full and accurate account of this remarkable circumstance may be seen in the work of De Vaca.

The fear that had previously possessed the adventurers of not being able to pass unmolested through so many and such barbarous tribes, was now entirely removed. So far from offering any violence to their persons, the savages, in consequence of the works they had wrought, rather contended for the honor of offering them kindness, seeking in every instance to retain them as long as was possible, being of opinion that their presence alone was sufficient to secure them an immunity from sickness, and even from death. "And so great confidence had they that they would become healed if we should but administer to them, that they believed that whilst we remained there none of them could die."

The manner of reception they met with in the different parts of the country was very different. That which at first was marked with respect and veneration, coupled with love and filial attachment, was changed as they advanced, by reason of the report which preceded them, into a species of fear and alarm. Speaking of the conduct of the inhabitants at this juncture, the writer says: "So great was the fear upon them, that during the first days they were with us they were continually trembling, without daring to do, speak or raise their eyes to the heavens."

The cause of this fear was not so much the wonders they had effected, as the firm and unshaken belief, on the part of the people, that the strangers had come to them from the world above, and were truly the Children of the Sun. The influence thus attained by the Christians, would, under more favorable circumstances have presented an admirable opportunity for introducing the Christian religion among these barbarous tribes. As such it was regarded by the Christians themselves, for they assure us that, had they been able to make themselves perfectly intelligible to the people, they would easily have succeeded in bringing the entire country to a knowledge of the truth. As it was, they gave them some elementary notions of our holy religion, and left with the resolve, that, upon reaching the Pacific, they would earnestly solicit the proper authorities to attend to this work.

The customs observed by the people in conducting the Christians from one tribe to another, deserve the notice of the reader. They were remarkable, not because of the attention paid to the party, but rather on account of the injuries inflicted on the entertainers by the accompanying escort. Thus, when starting from any particular locality, they were accompanied by a large number of the inhabitants who conducted them to the neighboring tribe, whither they were hastening, and as the latter were supposed, in conformity with the custom of the country, to place everything at the disposal of the strangers, the people who formed the escort, immediately on arriving, set to plundering everything that came in their way. At first this was most painful and disagreeable to the Christians, but as it was the general usage, and as the plundered were sure to become plunderers in turn, and thereby to indemnify themselves for the losses sustained, the barbarous usage had to be tolerated as sanctioned by custom. Its application in a particular instance is thus briefly alluded to in the work before named: "We walked till sunset, and arrived at a town of some twenty houses, where we were received, weeping and in great sorrow; for they already knew that wheresoever we should come, all would be pillaged and spoiled by those who accompanied us. When they saw that we were alone, they lost their fear, and gave us pears, but nothing else. We remained there that night,

and at dawn the Indians broke upon their houses. As they came upon the occupants, unprepared and in supposed security, having no place in which to conceal anything, all they possessed was taken from them, for which they wept much. In consolation the plunderers told them that we were children of the sun, and that we had power to heal the sick, *and to destroy*; and other lies, even greater than these, which none know better than they how to tell, when they find them convenient. They told them to conduct us with great respect, that they should be careful to offend us in nothing, and should give us all that they might possess, and endeavor to take us where people are numerous; and that wheresoever they arrived with us they should rob and pillage the people of what they have, for that it was customary." (See "Note" at end of chapter.)

After this another custom prevailed among the inhabitants in the manner of receiving the strangers. Instead of coming forward in great numbers and receiving them, as at first, with much joy, not unaccompanied with fear and alarm, the inhabitants remained shut up in their huts, apparently mourning and stricken with terror, their faces turned to the wall, and their property in little heaps on the floor for the acceptance of their guests.

No less remarkable were other peculiarities observed by the people in relation to each other. Among others, on the Atlantic coast, was that of

mourning for the dead during the entire space of a year. Three times a day, morning, noon and night, they gave expression to their sorrow in wailing and lamentations, but only in case of the young. At the end of that period, the obsequies were performed, which, in some instances, consisted in burying, and in others in burning the remains. When burned, the ashes were presented in water to the relatives to be drunk. Should the deceased happen to be brother or son, those in whose house he departed, abstained for a period of three months from seeking the ordinary means of support. Sooner would they perish of want than violate this singular usage, unless the friends and relations supplied them with food. And so, in time of public calamity, when several fell victims to the prevailing disease, the sufferings among the living were frequently unusually great.

Among the Yequages, and some other neighboring tribes, a most horrible practice of female infanticide was universally practised. The reason they assigned for this most revolting and unnatural custom, was to avoid increasing the number of their enemies. For, as they did not consider it proper to enter into marriage with any of their own particular tribe, because of the family relations existing between them, and being at enmity with all the neighboring people, to marry their daughters under such circumstances would only be, in their opinion, to add to the number of their foes, they

deemed it the best and most advisable course to settle the matter in the manner described. As regarded themselves, they always purchased their women from the neighboring Indians, for though ever at war, they were ready to trade in this matter. The ordinary price for a wife was a bow and a couple of arrows!

The marriage relation was not of any longer continuance than the parties desired; they separated on the slightest pretence, and attached themselves to others whenever they pleased. The women ordinarily nursed their children till the age of ten or twelve years, when they were able to provide for themselves. Many other customs and observances are referred to by the writer, which it would be only tedious to recount.

In fine, favored by the Almighty in the most remarkable manner referred to above, shielded from a thousand dangers and difficulties, the four Christians of whom we are speaking, passed through the whole of the American continent, from Florida to California, thereby accomplishing one of the most remarkable journeys on record in the annals of this nation.

NOTE.—There are several reasons to believe that the miracles recorded by Cabeça de Vaca, as having been performed by him and his fellow-companions, were really effected. The simple and unostentatious manner in which, as we have said, the entire narrative is told, is very much in its favor. On any other principle, save the special interposition of Heaven, it would be exceedingly difficult to account for their safety. Not to speak of the many and extraordinary physical difficulties they must have encountered on the journey, from hunger, cold and fatigue,

it is hardly possible to suppose that some or other of the numerous hostile tribes through which they passed, would not have detained them as slaves, like those among whom they first happened to fall, or have deprived them of life, as strangers and enemies, unless they had beheld at their hands some great and remarkable deeds.

One of the strongest and most satisfactory proofs, of the truth of their assertion, is the fact, that forty-five years later, when Antonio de Espejo, in command of a military expedition, passed through a part of the country traversed by the Christians, he found, even then, a most vivid recollection existing in the minds of the people, of having been prayed over and blessed by De Vaca and his companions. And so impressed were the natives with the importance thereof, that on that particular occasion, they came to the Religious who accompanied the expedition, in order to receive their benediction, a thing they certainly would hardly have done, had they not, in the first instance, witnessed some remarkable results following therefrom. Furthermore, were we only accurately informed of all that transpired on the occasion between Espejo and the natives, it is probable we might learn also of their having spoken of the miracles performed; but as Hakluyt, on whose authority we make this assertion, was only proving the truth of the adventure, it was not in his way, nor, indeed, did he care to go into details on a matter not immediately appertaining to his subject.

Again, on arriving in Spain, De Vaca published an account of the wonders, a thing he would hardly have done, if the statements were false, as he would be liable to be exposed by his fellow-companions. Inasmuch, too, as he urged in his work the importance and advantage of reclaiming and christianizing the peoples he spoke of, we have herein an additional proof for the truth of his statement; for he must have been aware that if missionaries were sent, they would immediately have learned whether the works were really effected or not. When, in addition, we take into account the important consideration that his description of the habits and customs of the natives on the Atlantic border coincides with that of De Bry, the first writer after his time, we have then reasonable grounds to believe in the truth of the narrative.



CHAPTER IV.

FATHER DE NIZA MAKES A TOUR THROUGH SONORA, AND REPORTS FAVORABLY OF THE COUNTRY.—THE VICEROY AND CORTES PREPARE TO SUBJUGATE IT.—DISAPPOINTMENT.—MASSACRE OF FATHER PADILLO AND BROTHER JOHN OF THE CROSS AT TIGUE.—CABRILLO'S EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA.—OXENHAM, DRAKE AND CAVENDISH APPEAR ON THE COAST.—SUPPOSED DISCOVERY OF A NORTHEAST PASSAGE.—SPAIN PREPARES TO DEFEND THE COAST.—FIRST RELIGIOUS WHO VISIT CALIFORNIA.

THE feeling of surprise created by the accounts related in the preceding chapter, was further increased by the following circumstances: In 1538 the year after the party arrived in their country, Marcus de Niza, a Franciscan, having heard from a lay-brother of his order most favorable accounts of the valley of Sonora and its inhabitants, resolved to preach the gospel in person to those tribes. How far he proceeded on his charitable mission is unknown, but as he employed several months in the work, it is to be presumed he advanced a considerable distance. On his return he gave the most flattering description of the country, representing the soil as rich and fertile, affording an abundant supply of grain and fruit, while the mountains abounded in rich and precious ores. He further added, that he was informed of the existence of several important towns of civilized natives farther to the north, and of one in particular, called Quivira, whose houses were seven stories high and celebrated all over that region.

The missionary's account, as may be imagined, threw all Mexico into a ferment ; so great was the excitement that nothing was talked of in the city but the prospect of conquering a province as remarkable as that which had made Cortes so famous in history. The general opinion, too, regarding the riches of the Indies, of which so much was then spoken, as well as the recent discoveries in Peru and New Spain, were additional motives in the minds of the Spaniards for prosecuting an inquiry into the nature and character of the newly-discovered region. As the matter was too important to be left in abeyance, the Viceroy and Cortes immediately resolved to attempt the subjugation of the country, but their designs being irreconcilable the failure of the expedition was the result. Both, in consequence, attempted to try it, each on his own responsibility. The governor's armaments consisted of a naval and a land force. The command of the fleet was entrusted to Francis de Alarcon, who was commanded to steer along the coast to the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, where he should await the arrival of the land force. The Viceroy, himself, had resolved upon taking charge of the second part of the expedition, but, in consequence of the distracted state of public affairs at the time, was necessitated to abandon his purpose, and in his stead he appointed to the command Vasquez Coronado. At the head of a thousand chosen men Coronado started from Mexico, well provided with every-

thing necessary for conquest and settlement. His guides were Franciscans. After advancing three hundred leagues through Sinaloa and the valley of Sonora, they finally arrived at the place where they expected so much. Instead of large, rich, well-built, populous towns, as they were led to expect, they found, to their disappointment, only a few miserable villages, comprising a kingdom called Cibola. The largest of the number which they named Grenada, contained a couple of hundred houses roughly built of wood and clay, but of four or five stories, and approached by wooden stairs or ladders, which were removed during the night.

The general appearance of the country, though fit for agricultural purposes, in no way answered the expectations of the Spaniards, so that they did not deem it advisable to form a settlement there. Unwilling, however, to return to Mexico without being able to give a more favorable account of the expedition, they resolved upon dividing the force, and examining the country more accurately. Accordingly, Lopez de Cardena moved with the cavalry in the direction of the sea, while Coronado, the commander of the expedition, marched onward to a locality called Tigie, where he received such flattering accounts of the city and country of Quivira, that, though at a distance of three hundred leagues farther on, he determined to visit the place. The ruler of Quivira, who was named Tatarax or Patarax, enjoyed the two-fold title of

King of Axa and Quivira. He was represented as a very venerable man, with a flowing beard, of great wealth, and partly Christian. As in the case of Cibola, the Spaniards were also disappointed here in their favorable anticipations. The sole riches of the country they found to consist of herds of a certain species of black cattle, which served the natives for food and raiment. Along the coasts they noticed several vessels which they took to be Chinese, as by signs they learned they had been at sea for a month. Among the Spaniards there were those who were desirous of settling in the country, but the majority refused to come into their views. At length, their ranks being thinned by death, and the survivors weakened and discouraged by sickness and fatigue, it was determined to abandon a country where they could expect to reap only so trifling an advantage. They accordingly prepared for their return to Mexico, where they arrived at the beginning of 1542, after an absence of three years, without any better result than having dissipated the erroneous ideas respecting the riches and capabilities of the country.

The expedition forwarded by Cortes, and which consisted of three vessels, under the command of Ulloa, was still more unfortunate. One of the vessels foundered at sea, and the others proceeded on their voyage only to encounter a thousand impediments from the natives, the season, and sickness. In a terrible storm, in the vicinity of the

Island of Cedros, the vessels were parted, and by some it is thought that the one in which Ulloa had sailed was lost, but of this there is doubt. The other, however, returned safely to Acapulco, with the sole advantage, during its voyage, of having established the fact of California being a peninsula.

Of the Religious, who accompanied Coronado's expedition, Father John de Padillo and brother John of the Cross, remained at Tigue, together with a Portuguese and some Indians of Mechanow. On the departure of Coronado, the Religious returned to Quivira, where they were massacred with some of their companions by the natives. The Portuguese had the good fortune to escape, and after a considerable time made his appearance at Panuco. Thus ended the efforts of the land force dispatched by the Viceroy for the conquest of the new country.

In accordance with the original plan, Alarcon, the commander of the fleet, proceeded along the coast to the point indicated by the Viceroy, but the army not arriving, and the term of his instructions having expired, he set up memorials of his presence and returned to New Spain, where he immediately fell into disgrace, and retired to the territory of Cortes where he died of chagrin.

While the Viceroy Mendoza and Cortes were preparing their respective expeditions, for the purposes referred to, the conqueror of Guatemala,

Don Pedro Alvarez, was also preparing another which he intended to co-operate with that of the Viceroy. His share in the general force consisted of a fleet of twelve vessels, constructed at very considerable cost at the port of Natividad. He was, however, prevented sending this aid, having accidentally met with his death by a fall from his horse just at the time that the vessels were preparing for sea. The ships were subsequently taken charge of by the Viceroy, who, after the failure of the expedition, despatched two of them—the San Salvador and the La Vitoria, under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, with instructions to continue the examination of the coast farther north than the point reached by Ulloa. Cabrillo put to sea on the 27th of June, 1542, and on the 2d July sighted the California shores ; three days later he anchored at Cape St. Lucas, so named by him on that occasion. Thence he continued his voyage, entering at different points along the coast, to which he gave appropriate names, till the 22d of August, when he entered a beautiful harbor where he remained for some days, and to which he gave the name of Puerto de la Posesion, or Possession Port, in consequence of his having taken possession of the country there in his Majesty's name. Here he learned by signs from the natives that some of Ulloa's companions were still living at some distance in the interior, but, as he was unwilling to abandon his vessels, and, probably, not trusting very con-

fidently to the assertions of his informers, he contented himself with merely giving them a letter to be conveyed to his countrymen. Whether the natives effected their commission, or had only been deceiving the commander from the outset, is entirely unknown, but, in either supposition, no further information was received of the party. What is especially to be regretted is, that Cabrillo himself did not enter the country with a few of his companions, and ascertain the truth or falsehood of the statement, or at least have remained sufficiently long on the coast to give his countrymen time to arrive from the interior, in case the statement proved to be true. Neither of which he found it convenient to do, for he immediately started on his voyage; and, on the 28th September, entered an excellent land-locked harbor, to which he gave the name of San Miguel, but now known as San Diego, the first important port on this side of the line which divides Upper from Lower California. Thus the honor of being the first to land on the shores of Upper California, is due to the eminent Spanish navigator, John Rodriguez Cabrillo.

He was also the first to make an accurate examination¹ of the coast of Lower California, to most of whose bays and openings he gave appropriate names. From San Miguel he continued his examination as far north as the Port of Pines—

(1) Bernal Diaz del Castillo drew up a map of the country in 1541.

the present Monterey—where he was taken ill and died on the Island of San Bernardo on the 5th of January, 1542. His pilot, Bartholomew Ferrelo, took charge of the vessel, and advanced to the forty-third degree of latitude, but here encountering unfavorable weather, he was necessitated to return. It was he who discovered the Cape, afterward named Mendocino by Viscaino, in honor of the Viceroy Mendoza.

From this, till the British appeared on the coast, only one more expedition was dispatched by the Spanish authorities in 1564. The commander of this was Andreas Urdaneta, the author of a chart, which was subsequently used by the Spaniards for a century or more.

The tranquillity which the Spaniards hitherto enjoyed in prosecuting their inquiries along the northern coast, and in trading with the East, was now destined, for the first time, to be rudely disturbed. Inflamed by the accounts given of the Spanish possessions, and hoping to enrich themselves by a system of plunder, a body of reckless English adventurers, commanded by one Oxenham, crossed the Atlantic in 1575, and after passing the Isthmus, constructed a vessel in the Pacific with which they attempted to ravish the Spanish possessions. Their depredations were not of long continuance, for they were almost immediately arrested by the authorities, and executed for their crimes. Their punishment, though

severe, was insufficient to prevent others from following in their steps. Hence, the appearance on the coast in 1579, of Captain, afterward, Sir Francis Drake. After pillaging the South American Spanish possessions of Chili and Peru, and, having captured the royal Philippine vessel, by which he became possessed of nearly two millions of dollars, Drake stood up to the north, and landed, it is thought, at Punta Los Reyes, between Bodega and the port of St. Francis, where he took possession of the country in Her Majesty's name. That he did not enter the Golden Gate, we will afterwards show, when we come to speak of the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco.

To relieve the memory of Drake from the unfavorable light in which it is generally regarded, some of his countrymen have thought well to remind us, that his piratical adventures were only in retaliation for an act of injustice done him by the Spaniards. In 1567, while proceeding to Mexico in company with Captain, afterwards Admiral, Sir John Hawkins, they were attacked by the Spaniards, when four, out of six vessels composing their fleet, fell into the hands of the authorities. As the expedition was entirely a mercantile speculation, Drake having invested in it all the capital of which he was master, he returned a pauper to England, and in vain petitioned Charles V. for indemnity for his losses. Disappointed in his hopes, if indeed he ever seriously entertained any,

he vowed with an oath to obtain from the Spaniards by pillage what was denied him by law. In 1570 he obtained a commission from Elizabeth. Two years later, with a fleet of three vessels, he made a descent on the South American Atlantic border in the vicinity of New Grenada, and, after plundering several settlements, found himself possessor of a much larger fortune than he had lost in the Mexican speculation. How the apology offered by his admirers could have justified him in this and gained him the approval of his royal mistress, it is not necessary here to inquire. On his return to England, far from falling under the displeasure of his sovereign, he even received marks of the royal esteem by being honored as a hero. While on the Atlantic border at Darien, like Balboa, he had seen from the summit of a lofty mountain the still waters of the Pacific, yet unexplored by the British. The representations made by him to the sovereign of the feebleness of Spain, and the glittering prizes to be made, obtained from him a new commission, consisting of five vessels and a hundred and sixty-four men, with which he sailed through the straits of Magellan, and appeared, as we have said, in the Pacific in 1579. Fearing to fall in with the Spaniards by returning the same route, he traversed the Pacific, crossed the Indian ocean, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in England on the 26th of September, 1579. Four months later

he was knighted by Elizabeth, who partook of a banquet on board his vessel.

Whatever notions the majority of the people of Great Britain may have entertained respecting the justice of the course adopted by Drake, the rupture of friendly relations at this time between Philip and Elizabeth was considered sufficient justification for continuing like acts, while the success attained under the circumstances, were not slow in inciting others to follow a like course. Accordingly, we are not astonished at finding a broken-down gentleman, attached to the Court of St. James, fitting out on expedition with the view of retrieving his fortune, and obtaining the favor of his sovereign. Thomas Cavendish, or Candish, to whom we refer, started from England for the Pacific on the 21st July, 1586. He had instructions from the crown to carry the war into the Spanish American Dependencies. His mission was faithfully executed, for he sacked, pillaged and burned every town and village that came in his way from Patagonia to California. The great object of his ambition, however, being the capture of the Spanish galleon from the Philippines, he awaited her arrival at the extremity of Lower California. He had not to delay very long, for about the 4th of November, the ill-fated vessel came in view when, after a desperate encounter, Cavendish succeeded in making her his own. By this he became possessed, it is said, of 122,000 pezos in gold, equiv-

alent to \$3,000,000 in silver, besides a valuable cargo in merchandise. The captured vessel he ran into the nearest port, where he set her on fire, having liberated the crew, amounting in all to one hundred and ninety persons. Satisfied with this remarkable success, he prepared to return to England, following the route pursued by his predecessor across the Pacific to the Ladrones, through the Indian Archipelago, and round by the Cape. He arrived at Plymouth on the 9th September, 1588. The true character of his expedition is best learned from his own words. Boasting of his exploits, he says: "I have navigated along the coasts of Chili, Peru and Nova Espagna, where I made great spoils; I burned nineteen ships small and great, and *all the villages and towns I landed at I burned and spoiled.*" Cavendish returned again three years later on another buccaneering expedition, but this time not with such marked success to himself, for he sickened and died at sea.

It should have been observed, that previous to the appearance of Cavendish in 1582, Francisco Galli, a Spaniard, on returning from Manila and Macao, made a reconnoissance of the coast as far north as the fifty-seventh degree of latitude. To him was near being due the honor of discovering the Bay of San Francisco, for, in his account of the voyage, he tells us that while descending the coast, he witnessed the sea covered with numerous debris—evidently the result of the periodical rains,

by which these numerous objects were carried out into the ocean.

The Spanish authorities were now, for the first time, rejoiced at the announcement that the long-desired passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific had at length been discovered. An adventurer, Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado, pretended to have sailed through its waters, to which he gave the name of the Straits of Anian. * The discovery, if real, was certain to prove of the highest importance to Spain, for the voyages to the East would have been shortened by several months. To ascertain the truth of Maldonado's assertion, a fleet of three vessels and one hundred men was immediately equipped and despatched by the Viceroy, with instructions to garrison and fortify the entrance lest the British might make use of it for arriving in the Pacific and ravaging the Spanish possessions. The expedition proceeded only as far as Lower California, when a mutiny occurred and the project was abandoned. Four years subsequent another attempt was made to prove the truth of Maldonado's assertion. John De Fuca, about whose identity so much doubt has been expressed by several writers, was sent by the Viceroy in 1592 on a similar errand. De Fuca had been pilot in the last expedition, and was also on board the *Santa Anna*, captured by Cavendish. With a command of two vessels he sailed to the forty-eighth degree of latitude, where he entered a strait,

probably the present Puget Sound, which he took for the one he was in search of. After sailing up it several days he retraced his course, returned to Acapulco and reported his success to the Viceroy. The matter was still discredited by many, and for one hundred years and more seems to have kept the country in a state of suspense, for as late as 1791 the Sutil and Mejicana, under Galliano and Valdez, were despatched by his Majesty, in order to clear up all doubt regarding De Fuca's assertions. But even those seem to have fallen into the popular error, and to have realized the truth of the Roman commander's assertion, "Quod fere libenter homines id, quod volunt, credunt."¹

The injuries which had been inflicted upon the South American Spanish possessions by the British adventurers between 1575 and 1587, and the fear lest such acts should be repeated unless prevented by precautionary measures, now for the first time aroused the responsible agents of government, and caused them to enter upon measures for the defense of the coast. The objects to be attained were of no minor importance. The whole of the South American possessions had to be defended; the annual Philippine vessel to be protected, the countries along the Californian coast reduced to subjection and the Christian religion established. Instructions were accordingly received from old

(1) *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*: Lib. iii., Cap. 18.

Spain to form garrisons along the coast, and, as the extremity of the Californian Peninsula was the chief rendezvous of the pirates, it was deemed proper to first establish a garrison at that point.

In compliance with his Majesty's wish the Viceroy, Gaspar de Zuñiga, Count de Monterey, immediately prepared an expedition consisting of three vessels, which he entrusted to the care of Sebastian Viscaino. The fleet started from Acapulco for California about the beginning of 1596, there being on board *four Franciscans*. These were not, in all probability, the first missionary priests who landed in the country; for, as early as 1535, Cortes, when preparing for his expedition, is represented as being joined by several ecclesiastics. Whether they actually embarked and landed in the country, is not positively stated by any writers; hence, under the doubt, to the children of St. Francis must be granted the honor of having first unfurled the banner of our holy religion on Californian soil. The fleet put in, in the first instance, to the isles of Mazatlan, where fifty of the crew deserted their commander; thence, they proceeded to the port at which Cortes had anchored, probably the present La Paz, where they remained for a couple of months. During the stay, the Fathers made every effort to give the aborigines some elementary notions of the Christian religion, and, under the circumstances, seem to have succeeded as well as could be expected. They

showed, we are told, the greatest respect and veneration for the Fathers, regarding them as beings of a superior order, and asking them if they were not "Sons of the Sun." Their conduct during the holy sacrifice of the Mass, at which they were frequently permitted to be present, was respectful and edifying; the rites and ceremonies filled them with wonder and admiration. Their ready and prompt obedience, too, to the commands of the Religious showed them to be a docile, tractable people, and fit subjects for the reception of the Gospel.

Viscaino, finding his provisions running low, and the country unequal to the support of his men, determined upon abandoning the enterprise and returning to Acapulco, where he arrived in October, 1596. Six years later, in 1602, Viscaino headed another expedition for a like object at the command of Philip III. He was accompanied on this occasion by three Carmelite Friars, Father Andres de la Asencion, Thomas de Aquino and Antonio de la Asencion, the last of whom wrote an account of the voyage. Speaking of the reception they met with from the Indians, Father Antonio says: "When the boats were near the shore, the Indians, seeing such a number of armed men, retired in great consternation to an eminence in order to secure themselves, if the strangers should attempt anything against them. All the people in the boats landed, but, as they advanced towards the

Indians, they retired till Father Antonio, in order to allure them to a friendly conference, went up alone toward them, and, by signs and gestures, so far prevailed that they waited for him; and coming up to them he embraced them all in the most affectionate manner."

After putting into various ports along the coast, on the 10th of December they entered the harbor of San Miguel, then for the first time named San Diego by Viscaino. Thus ended the third examination of Lower California, the two former having been made by Ulloa and Cabrillo respectively. From San Diego he proceeded north to about the forty-third degree of latitude, in the vicinity of the present city of Oregon, but finding the weather unfavorable and several of his men suffering from scurvy and other diseases, he altered his course and returned to Mexico, where he arrived on the 29th of April, 1603.

The next priest who visited the coast was Padre Diego de la Neva, who accompanied Don Francis Ortega in his expedition of 1632. De Neva had been appointed by the Bishop of Guadalaxara as Vicar of California, though it is difficult to see in what his ministrations of Vicar were to consist, none of the natives having been yet brought to a knowledge of the truth. Ortega did not remain more than a few months in the country, having obtained a large quantity of valuable pearls, with which he returned to Mexico and which he disposed

of to the greatest advantage. He returned again the following year, as also the year after, accompanied by his former missionary friend, and another named Father Juan de Zuñiga.

Sixteen years later, in 1648, we find two Jesuit missionaries, Fathers Yacinto Cortes and Andreas Baez, accompanying Admiral Casinate, but these, like their predecessors, remained only as long as the squadron lay on the coast. Indeed, all the Religious, who hitherto entered the country, were more in the character of chaplains to the expeditions than missionaries to the natives. The time had not yet come when the missionary priests should enter unreservedly upon the conversion of the natives, living their lives and sharing their fortunes. I merely mention this fact in order that the reader may not be unaware, that the country had been casually visited by missionaries previous to the date when, as we shall presently see, a regular organized effort was made for the conversion of the people.

Again, in 1668, Francis Luzivilla, an enterprising citizen, fitted out an expedition at his own private expense with the view of forming a colony on the coast. He was accompanied by two Franciscans, Fathers Juan Caranco and Juan Ramirez, who are represented as having made an earnest but ineffectual effort, during their short stay in the country, for the conversion of the natives. Luzivilla's object was to make a settlement in the

country, while the Religious were to employ themselves in the conversion of the people. He attempted his project by forming a little colony at Puerto de la Paz, but the difficulties proving too great, he had to abandon his purpose.

The last expedition undertaken at the expense of government took place in 1683. It was commanded by Admiral Otondo, and attended by three Jesuit missionary Fathers, named respectively Father Kühno, Juan Baptista Copart, and Pedro Mathias Goni. The expedition landed on the 2d of June, 1683, and remained till September, 1685, a period of over two years, during which the Fathers laid the foundation of the missions, and prepared the country for the introduction of christianity. The missionaries' first care was to learn the language, after which they occupied themselves in translating into it the principal articles of the Catholic faith. As can be readily understood, not having any elementary works, the difficulties they encountered were unusually great. The entire absence, too, of appropriate terms to express certain religious ideas was an additional obstacle in the way. The following may serve as an instance of this: When occupied in translating the creed, they were unable to find a word proper to express "the resurrection from the dead." That there should be in the language such a term they could not reasonably doubt, but to find it was the difficulty. Taking some flies,

in the presence of the Indians, they put them under water till they were supposed to be dead; then, exposing them to the rays of the sun till their vital faculties were restored, the Indians, on seeing the change, cried out in amazement, "Ibimuhueite! Ibimuhueite!" which the Fathers took to express, "they returned to life," and in absence of a better expression, applied it to the resurrection of the Redeemer.

During the two years they remained in the country, four hundred adults were prepared for the holy sacrament of baptism; but, as the missionaries were unable to remain longer than the expedition, none were received into the church except those in danger of death. Of these there were thirteen, three of whom recovered, and were brought away by the Fathers, with the consent of their parents. In fine, the garrison being reduced to the greatest extremities for want of provisions, the admiral embarked his men and abandoned the country, the barren and inhospitable nature of whose soil, and not the hostility of the natives, prevented him from making a permanent settlement on the coast. Twelve years later, in 1697, the reduction of the country was entrusted to the care of the Fathers, and the missions regularly established, as we shall afterward see.

CHAPTER V.

ETYMOLOGY OF CALIFORNIA.—CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY.—EXTENT.—CAPABILITIES.—TRIBES.—PERICUES.—MONQUI.—COCHIMES.—LANGUAGE.—MODE OF LIFE.—PHYSICAL CHARACTER.—UNACQUAINTANCE WITH LETTERS.—HIEROGLYPHICAL REMAINS.—MENTAL CONDITION, ETC.

FROM the time of the discovery of California by Cortes, in 1536, to 1701, when the fact of its being a portion of the main land was fully established by the Jesuit missionary, Father Kühno, it was generally regarded, in Europe, as an island, or, indeed, a cluster of islands. That part of the ocean was, in consequence, regarded as an archipelago. Hence the name by which we find it sometimes mentioned in history, “Islas Carolinas,” a name given it in honor of Charles II. of Spain. Previous to this, it had been known as Ciguatan, Santiago, Santa Cruz, Islas de Perlas and Islas Amazonas. The gulf was likewise honored with different titles, as the Sea of Cortes, the Vermilion Sea, the Mar Lauretana, etc.¹

Why it should have been regarded as an island, later than the middle of the sixteenth century, seems difficult to understand; as in a map, drawn up in the year 1541, by Bernal Diaz del Castillo, an officer in Ulloa’s expedition, the country is represented as a peninsula, and almost in its actual

(1) See *Exploration and Settlement of Lower California*: by J. B. Brown, p. 7.

state. Whether Castillo formed his map after a careful examination of the coast, or from a probable conjecture of its character, I am unable to say; but that the Jesuit missionaries were the first to establish the fact, and to obtain for it general assent, must be admitted by all. The energy and ability displayed by the Fathers in solving this geographical problem, and in surveying the inner and outer coasts, under the most difficult circumstances, as we shall afterward see, entitle them to the respect and admiration of all, and to honorable mention in the annals of this country, whether civil or religious.

The etymology of the word California is involved in impenetrable obscurity. The oldest and best informed writers have been unable to determine its meaning. Some are of opinion that it owes its origin to accident; being, as they suppose, a word used by the Indians, but, misinterpreted and misapplied by the Spaniards. Others are inclined to believe it a Latin polysyllable, compounded of the words "calida fornax" (heated furnace), by which they ingenuously suppose the discoverers designated the country, on account of the intensity of the heat. Others, again, as Father Aroio, derive it from a word in the vernacular, signifying a species of gum, known to exude very freely from a particular timber of the country. How far any or all these opinions are worthy of attention, is left entirely to the judgment of the

reader to determine; nor, indeed, is it much to our purpose, beyond gratifying an idle curiosity, to be able to assign the true etymological meaning of the word.

The great extent of coast, within which the two Californias are comprised, makes it apparent that a great diversity of climate must be the natural result. There are not, perhaps, any other sections of the American continent, of equal extent, presenting such a diversity of climate, and so great a dissimilarity in capabilities and natural productions. The one is, in general, with little exception, arid, barren and inhospitable, affording little attraction for man or beast; while the other, though in many instances, presenting like characteristics, is yet, on the whole, fruitful, productive and salubrious.

Speaking of Lower California, the author of the natural and civil history of the country, says: "It may be said, in general, that the air is dry and hot to a great degree; and that the soil is barren, rugged, wild, everywhere overrun with mountains, rock and sand; with little water, and, consequently, unfit either for agriculture, planting or grazing." And in another place, the same author writes: "The aspect of Lower California, generally speaking, is disagreeable and forbidding, and its broken land is extremely rocky and sandy; it lacks water, and is covered with thorny plants, where it is capable of producing vegetation; and where not, it is covered

with heaps of rocks and sand. * * * * The whirlwinds, which sometimes occur, are so furious, that they uproot trees, and overturn the huts. The rains are so rare, that should two or three showers fall during the year, the Californians consider themselves peculiarly blessed. Springs are few and scarce, and so far as rivers are concerned, there is not one on the whole peninsula; although the rivulets of Mulegé and San José del Cabo were dignified with that name. The latter runs through San Bernabé, and, after a short course of two miles, empties itself into the gulf, at twenty-seven degrees. All the rest are brooks or torrents, which, being dry the whole year, when it rains contain some water, and their current is so rapid that they upset everything, and carry destruction to the few settlements which exist here."

This is confirmed by Baron Von Humboldt, who made a voyage to the coast in 1811. "The soil," writes the Baron, "is sandy and arid, like the shores of Provence; vegetation is at a stand, and rain is very infrequent." And again: "Old California, on account of the arid nature of the soil, and the want of water and vegetable earth in the interior of the country, will never be able to maintain a great population, any more than the northern part of Sonora, which is almost equally dry and sandy."

That the foregoing is a tolerably accurate estimate of the country in its general aspect must

be admitted. Hence the sparseness of the population by which it has been hitherto inhabited. By the appliances, however, of modern science, and under the indomitable energy of the American race, Lower California is likely, before long, to assume a respectable position as a mercantile, mineral and agricultural province. Indeed, there are those who are of opinion, that by a well-conducted system of irrigation, effected mainly on the artesian-well principle, the valleys, plains and table-lands of the country might be brought to a high degree of agricultural perfection. The testimony of one who has spent several years in the country is decidedly to this effect.

“Throughout the territory,” writes Mr. Sprague, “are valleys, plains, table-lands and tracts on the mountains that are first-class agricultural land. Water is found in many places on the surface, and almost anywhere by digging a moderate depth, or by artesian boring, in much larger quantities than superficial observers, or persons not well acquainted with the country and climate, would suppose. By artesian wells, or broad wells, or pits, lifting the water by windmills, a large breadth of the country can be cultivated in tropical and semi-tropical productions, as well as wheat and corn of a more northern climate. The climate of the peninsula is undoubtedly one of the healthiest in the world; and for persons of consumptive habits, without a parallel. This fact is getting to be

more and more known on this coast; and were the facilities for purchasing land such as to afford encouragement, numbers from the population of this coast would go up there to make their home."

Independent of artificial irrigation, the same writer assures us that much might be made of the country. Extensive crops of wheat, oats and barley are annually raised in different parts by the ordinary means. Cotton, which is indigenous to the soil, is represented as of a remarkably fine and silken texture. Vines thrive exceedingly well, and produce, we are told, a wine but little inferior to Madeira.

Olives, dates, figs, and other tropical fruits, are found there in considerable quantities; while, as regards the esculents, the sweet potato is chiefly remarkable both for size and quality. Added to this, there can be hardly any doubt about the existence of extensive mineral beds of a rich quality of ore.

Already the greater part of the country has found its way into the hands of American companies. In 1866, the Mexican Government, under the Presidency of Juarez, sold to the Lower California Colonization Company forty-six thousand eight hundred square miles of the country for the sum of two hundred and sixty thousand dollars in gold. The Peninsula Plantation and Homestead Association also obtained from the government extensive tracts along Mulegé and Concepcion Bay, in the Gulf

of California. The companies propose to conduct their respective investments on the principle of cheap labor, imported from China and Africa; but whether such shall not rather result in a species of vassalage, and prove of little advantage to any, except those forming the monopoly, remains to be seen. It is, however, to be observed that the companies are ready to dispose of a portion of their allotments to emigrants desirous of settling in the country. The entire extent of the peninsula is two hundred thousand square miles, with a population of from forty to fifty thousand, composed of natives, Spaniards, Mexicans, Americans, Germans and French.¹ The exports, which consist of hides, salt, cheese, sugar, figs, etc., are estimated at an annual value of between one and two million dollars. In short, it is probable that before long, Lower California will assume a far more prominent position than she has hitherto attained under Spanish or Mexican rule; and most probably, too, when that shall have been attained, the country, like Alta California, will become a portion of the American Republic.

Of Upper, or American, California, much more may be said in its praise. Although in general possessing somewhat similar characteristics, being a continuation of the same line of coast, it possesses numerous advantages which the other does not

(1) In 1867, the population was twenty-six thousand. Vide *Exploration Lower California*; p. 77.

enjoy. A better and more appreciable climate, heavier and more certain periodical rains, larger and more productive valleys, and mineral resources of a superior and more extensive character, may be stated as among the advantages.

In dimensions, Upper California is the second largest State in the Union, second only to Texas, and comprising within it, as we have said, an area of one hundred and eighty-eight thousand nine hundred and eighty-two square miles. Its general aspect, like that of Lower California, is hilly, mountainous, and uneven. The Sierra Nevada, or Snowy Range, on the eastern, and the Coast Range on the western side, are the principal mountain chains, some of which, as Mount Shasta and Mount Whitney, rise to an elevation of between fourteen and fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea. Between those extensive ranges, which run irregularly through the entire length of the country, are several extensive valleys, of from twenty to thirty miles in width, and from one to two hundred in length, capable of maintaining large populations, and remarkable alike for the richness and fertility of their soil, the beauty of their scenery, and the salubrity of their climate. Of these, the Sacramento, San Joaquin, Santa Clara and Yosemite are the principal, the two former being regarded, and justly, as the garden of California. The scenery of the Yosemite is equal to any to be met with on the American continent.

The mountain ranges in the North are, for the most part, covered with luxurious forests of oak, pine, laurel, cedar and redwood; the latter, in some instances, growing to the enormous proportions of thirty feet in diameter, and as many as three hundred and fifty in height—characteristics which have earned for them the soubriquet of “Big Trees.” Scattered through the country in various directions are numerous beautiful lakes, to the number of twenty or more, the largest being Tulare, and the most elevated Lake Tahoe or Bigler, situated at a distance of six thousand feet above the sea. Eight and twenty rivers flow from these lakes, or otherwise rise in the mountains, watering and fertilizing the valleys on their way to the ocean. The entire population of the State, according to the latest returns for the year 1870, was five hundred and fifty-six thousand six hundred and thirteen, which is an increase of almost two hundred thousand for the last decade; the number in 1860 being only three hundred and seventy-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-four.

The agricultural and garden productions which comprise many, both of the temperate and tropical, regions, are comprehended mainly under the head of wheat, oats, barley, grasses, oranges, lemons, etc. The tropical productions are confined exclusively to the southern parts of the State, in the immediate vicinity of Los Angeles and the

other neighboring towns. The yield of grain, being greater than that required for the necessities of the population, large quantities are annually exported to the Eastern States and to Europe. Two years prior to this, in 1868, the wheat crop gave a return of nineteen millions of bushels, and the oats and barley seven millions, while the wine crop for the same year is put down at five millions gallons.

The raising of stock, and particularly of sheep, has also begun to form one of the most important interests of the State. In 1869, the wool amounted to eighteen millions of pounds, which, after some years, will doubtless be very considerably increased. There is, however, one not very inconsiderable danger which ever threatens the agricultural and stock interests of the State. It is the occasional droughts with which the country has been visited at times. Deprived of the periodical rains, the crops and the cattle suffer extremely. The former are prevented from coming to maturity, and the latter perish by thousands for the want of necessary pasturage. But the danger from this is now immeasurably less than in the past, as far as the stock is concerned; for, in case of a drought, either the cattle can be transported to the East by the railway, or fodder supplies brought into the country by similar means. The expense attending either resort would be undoubtedly great, yet comparatively small, relatively to the entire

loss of the herds. But as it has not been the agricultural resources of the country that have raised California to her present position, as a principal State of the Union, but her extraordinary mineral wealth, unparalleled by any other in the world, it is to the latter, and not to the former, she must still look for assistance in advancing on the road of national prosperity. The total value of gold derived from the country, since its discovery in 1848, has exceeded the almost fabulous sum of one billion dollars. Of this enormous yield, sixty-five millions was the largest amount realized in any one year. Independent of the gold and silver mines, the country also produces copper, iron, lead, coal, platinum, nickel, salt, borax, tin, zinc and quicksilver. The principal exports are gold and grain; the annual amount of which leaving the coast may be judged from the fact of twenty-three million dollars worth of merchandise having left the port in 1868. In fine, the capabilities, natural resources and favorable mercantile position of the country are all so strongly in its favor as to leave little to be doubted that, before the present generation shall have passed, California will have attained the rank of one of the leading States of the Republic.

Before informing the reader of the labors and exertions of the missionary Fathers in behalf of the natives, it is proper to give an account of the habits, manners and customs of the people. On arriving in California, the Jesuit missionaries found

the country inhabited by different tribes, or more properly, different nations, inasmuch as they spoke different languages and were governed by separate chiefs. There has been considerable speculation regarding the division of the inhabitants and the number of languages. The most probable and judicious opinion classifies the aborigines of Lower California into the following tribes: The Pericues, who inhabited the south; the Monqui, who dwelt in the interior; and the Cochimes, who lived in the north. The Pericues and Cochimes were also known under the names of Edues and Laymones. The three principal bodies were further subdivided into several minor tribes known under special appellations, and speaking different languages, or, at least, widely different dialects of the same tongue. The most numerous of these principal divisions was that of the Cochimes, or Laymones, divided like the others into several smaller bodies, differing exceedingly in their language as regarded its idiom, pronunciation and termination. To the north, on the west of the Colorado River, inhabited the Bagiopos and the Hoabonomas; while in Upper California, between San Diego and Cape Mendocino, the country was divided between the Washoes, the Piutes, Shoshones, etc., some thousands of whom still roam unconverted through the mountains, encamping sometimes in the neighborhood of towns, and passing a precarious existence. Among the inhabitants of



Scene on the banks of the Columbia River

Upper California, the diversity of language was found to be even greater than among their brethren of the south. In his history of the customs and manners of the Indians, Father Boscana assures us that within every fifteen or twenty leagues a different language prevailed—so different as to be entirely unintelligible to those of the neighboring missions. “The natives of San Diego cannot understand a word of the language used in this mission—San Juan Capistrano—and in like manner those in the neighborhood of Santa Barbara and further north.”¹ How this is to be accounted for, except by attributing it to a difference of race, is difficult to be seen, and yet to admit such a variety of origin is open to serious objection.

Of the present unconverted inhabitants, little can be said in their favor. Like their ancestors of old, they lead a wandering, migratory life; moving periodically from place to place, for the purpose of hunting, fishing, amusement, or the gathering of supplies. Being entirely unacquainted with every form of civilized life, and the comforts and advantages attendant thereon, they suffer but little from their rude, nomadic existence. Though averse to all manual labor, some of them not unfrequently engage in little works for the whites, for which they receive a trifling remuneration. But, as a rule, they make no provision for their wants, beyond what is offered them spontane-

(1) *Historical Account of the Indians*; by Father Boscana, p. 240.

ously by nature. Some, indeed, (but they are the exceptions) sow little patches of corn and beds of melons; while others tend a species of clover, of which they are exceedingly fond. The principal staple commodities, however, on which they mainly rely for a living, are pine nuts, grass seeds, roots, berries, and the product of the chase. Yet, when pressed by hunger, they will not refuse reptiles, insects and vermin. In fact, there is hardly anything in the shape of animal or vegetable food too coarse and indelicate for the poor Californian Indian. One half of the year is ordinarily spent in making provision for the other half. How meagre this must necessarily be, the reader may readily imagine.

Their dwellings, which hardly deserve the name, are ordinarily located on the banks of rivers, or in the dells of mountains. They are among the rudest and least comfortable habitations of any people in the world. A few poles, stuck circularly in the ground, and brought together in a conical shape, constitute the woodwork of the hut. Over this, a few bundles of sage brush, a species of brush-wood, are loosely thrown, and in this consists the entire dwelling. Here, in these cheerless abodes, through which the rain, sleet and snow freely penetrate, the poor Californian spends the long winter night, without any other protection or defence against the inclemency of the season, save that afforded him by his mantlet of

rabbit or deer skin, or by the heat of his camp-fire from without. Yet, strange as it may appear, it is one of the rarest occurrences to meet with one of these children of nature suffering from the effects of a cold. Custom, from infancy, has inured them to their condition, and any change to a more delicate mode of existence, would, it is thought, be prejudicial to their health.

In respect to their raiment, they are as poorly and meagrely supplied, as in the matter of diet. Previous to the coming of the Americans among them, their dress consisted of the skins of those animals taken in the chase; but now, as a general rule, they are clad in the old, cast-off garments of the whites; but with what taste and comfort, may be readily imagined, from the life they lead.

The Indians that inhabited the country on the arrival of the missionaries, differed little from those of the present day. According to the most reliable testimony, they could not be favorably compared with the other American races. They were, we are assured, as weak in body as in mind. Like the South Sea Indians, those of Lower California daubed and painted their faces with ointment and colors, bored holes through their ears and nostrils, and otherwise disfigured their general appearance, so as to cause them to look, contrary to their intention, to the greatest disadvantage. Their complexion, was, in general, swarthier than that of the Indians of New Spain. They had no

idea of letters, nor of any method of computing the time; being, in this, similar to all the other American races, except the Peruvians and the Mexicans; the former of whom, had a substitute in their "Quipos," and the latter, in their hieroglyphical or symbolical representations.

The utter unacquaintance of the aborigines with the use of letters, and every method of recording historical events, is more to be regretted than may, at first, appear to the reader. For, with such a rule for our guidance, the origin of the people might be readily determined, though the record should not deal with the time, manner or circumstances of their migration. The only account the Edues and Cochimes could give the Religious, respecting their original country, was that their ancestors had migrated from the north; but, as they had no means of distinguishing the years, or of computing the time, the period of their migration, and the term of their abode in the country, could in no way be determined. That they were not, however, the descendants of the original inhabitants, is almost beyond doubt; for, from evidences which remained, it would seem that a more enlightened and intelligent race had previously inhabited the peninsula. Shortly before leaving the country, the Jesuit Fathers discovered in the mountains several extensive caves, hewn out of the solid rock, like those of Elephanta, in southern Hindostan. In these, painted on the rock, were

representations of men and women, decently clad, as well as different species of animals. One of the caves is described by a missionary, as fifty feet long, fifteen high, and formed in the manner of an arch. The entrance being entirely open, there was sufficient light to observe the painted figures. The males were represented with their arms extended and somewhat elevated, while one of the females appeared with her hair flowing loosely over her shoulders, and a crown of feathers on her head. The natural conclusion deducible from this is, that as painting and sculpture were entirely unknown to the Californians, at the time of the first missionaries, and as the figures were not representations of the people then inhabiting the country, the male population, at that time, entirely dispensing with clothes, they must have belonged to another and different race from the modern inhabitants. But whence this race had migrated, how long they inhabited the land, and whither they finally proceeded, there are now no means of determining, except by conjecture. The only thing approaching to certainty is, that they were less savage, more enlightened, and of greater physical stature. The latter is confirmed, as well by the assertions of the inhabitants themselves; who unanimously affirmed to the Fathers the prior existence of a powerful, gigantic race, as well as by the fossil remains found by the missionaries. As an instance, it may be sufficient to mention, that

at the mission of Kadakamong, Father Joseph Rotea discovered a human skeleton, which measured about eleven feet!

The cause of their own immigration they stated to have been a quarrel excited at a banquet, in which the chiefs of several nations were engaged. This, they asserted, was followed by a battle, from which the vanquished had to fly, and seek refuge in the woods and mountains of the peninsula. Whether the contest referred to was real or imaginary, is entirely unknown, just as there is no data for judging, supposing it to be true, where it occurred. This was the only account they could furnish the missionaries respecting their origin and emigration. The candor displayed in acknowledging themselves the descendants of the vanquished, when they might easily have pretended to be the offspring of the conquerors, speaks strongly in favor of the truth of their assertion. The ancient Romans and Carthagenians, by acknowledging themselves the descendants of conquered races, the former of the Trojans and the latter of the Tyrians, are instances of a similar candor. Although time and research have failed to bring forward any document or monument by which it could be satisfactorily proved that this portion of the American race emigrated directly from Asia, the most probable and only reasonable conjecture is that they did.

All the American Indians, if we except the nations referred to above, whose laws, policy and

government exhibited a certain cultivation of reason, differed very little in capacity, customs and manners. Their chief characteristics are stupidity, blindness of the sensual appetite and sloth. A constant love of pleasure and amusement of every kind, however trifling or brutal, pusillanimity, laxity; and a most wretched want of everything tending to form the real man, and to render him rational, inventive, tractable and useful to himself and society, is the character drawn of them by one who had the best means of being rightly informed.

The Californian's will was apportioned to his understanding. All the powers of his soul seemed checked in their infancy, and necessitated to move within the narrowest sphere. Ambition, he had none—patriotism, none—love of religion, none. Titles, honor, wealth and fame, which mean so much to us, and are the springs and sources of action, either for good or evil, were unmeaning terms in his regard. To see a companion praised or rewarded, to excel at the chase, the dance, or public assembly, seemed to be the only check upon sloth, the only incentive to activity. Avarice, that most destructive of passions, had little share in his character.

The simplicity of their lives, and the fewness of their wants, rendered ambition unnecessary. The entire extent of their desires was to obtain sufficient food for the passing day, relying on chance

for a supply for the ensuing. As they constructed no regular dwellings, living during the greater part of the year in the shade afforded them by their native woods, and retiring during winter to the natural caverns found on the coast, and in the mountains, their articles of furniture were neither numerous nor luxurious. They consisted exclusively of those instruments necessary for hunting, fishing and war. A boat, a bow and arrow, a dart and a bowl, were among their chief articles of use. A bone served them for an awl, a net for carrying their fruits and their children, and a couple of bits of hard wood for procuring fire, which was obtained by rubbing them briskly for some time between the hands. The only difference between the Indians of that time and this, some few thousands of whom are still scattered through the country, is that the latter are more civilized in the manner of dress, an acquirement they have learned from their contact with their American neighbors.

A people of such uneducated habits, whose minds were never illumined by the feeblest ray of religion or science, are necessarily the creatures of fancy and impulse. The uneducated savage is in many things a child. Fickleness is predominant in his character; his anger is easily aroused, while fury is of no longer duration than while it meets with no opposition. A people of this kind is a nation that never arrives at maturity. The

full development of the moral and physical man is the united work of religion and science.

One happy result of the deplorable ignorance of the aboriginal Californians was their unacquaintance with the use of intoxicating drinks; but, unhappily, they found a partial substitute for them in the smoke of an herb, with which they were accustomed to become inebriated on festive occasions.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNMENT. — POWER OF CHIEFS. — DRESS. — FESTIVALS. — POLYGAMY. MARRIAGE CEREMONIES. — CARNIVALS. — FEATS OF SKILL. — METHODS OF MAKING WAR. — RELIGIOUS IDEAS REGARDING THE CREATION OF THE WORLD. — THE CHIEF OUIOT. — IDOL-WORSHIP IN UPPER CALIFORNIA. — THE TEMPLE OR VANQUEECH. — THE GOD CHINIGH-CHINIGH. — TRADITION REGARDING THE DELUGE. — BELIEF IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL AND THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY.

FROM what has been said in the preceding chapter, it must not be inferred that the native Californians were destitute of every natural virtue. Harshness, cruelty and obstinacy had little or no part in their character. History represents them as exceedingly docile, gentle and tractable.

Their government, if the name be applicable in their case, may be judged from their manners. As they had no specified division of lands, possessions or immovables, laws were unneeded for the adjustment of rights or decision of cases arising out of illegal intrusions or unjustifiable claims. And, as in a state of society where law is unknown because all things are common, the power of the chief was naturally limited. The punishment of crime essentially implies the violation of law; and as in that primitive state the people had neither a written nor a traditional code whereby their actions were to be directed, but were governed en-

tirely, either by fancy or the natural obedience due by children to parents, the authority of the chief was in consequence more nominal than real.

But, as the common exigencies of their state rendered it necessary at times to seek counsel and guidance, the brave, the artful and eloquent were, by common consent, appointed as leaders, but this dignity, such as it was, was never the appendage of years, family or formal election. The duties of the chiefs or Caziques consisted mainly in giving orders for gathering the products of the earth, for conducting the fisheries and directing the military operations. "The leader or Cazique—writes Father Venegas—conducted them to the forest and sea coast in quest of food; sent and received the messages to and from the adjacent States; informed them of dangers; spirited them up to revenge of injuries whether real or feigned, done by other rancheros or natives, and headed them in their wars, ravages and depredations. In all other particulars, every one was entire master of his liberty."

A people who live by the chase, and are utterly unacquainted with the works and arts of civilized life, cannot be supposed to be in the enjoyment of a very costly and elegant wardrobe. It was so with the Californians. The dress throughout the entire country was almost unique. For the males whether children or adults, it was *nil*, if we except bracelets for the arms and an ornament in

the shape of a periwig for the head. As such, dress was in their case more an ornament than a protection of virtue, or defence against the inclemency of the seasons. The southern inhabitants were somewhat in advance of their northern brethren in the matter of finery, for, in addition to the ornaments spoken of, they generally wore an ornamented girdle round the loins, and a fillet of network on the forehead. To these they sometimes added a neckcloth embroidered with mother-of-pearl. The Cochimes wore the hair short, except a few locks on the crown of the head, which they permitted to grow long like the Hindoos of British India of the present day. These also wore a more elegant head-dress than their neighbors.

It is not to be supposed that the state of naked simplicity, so akin to primitive innocence, had any irregularity in their eyes; for, when requested by the Fathers to cover at least what modesty demanded, they not only looked upon the demand as unreasonable, but even became highly affronted. In their eyes nothing could be more ludicrous than one of their number dressed up in our fashion; to do so was only to expose ones self to the jest and ridicule of the tribe. As an instance: one of the Fathers, having in his employ a couple of boys in the character of servants and catechumens, thought he could not more effectually inculcate the necessity of modesty than by clothing the lads. Contrary, however, to his laudable intentions, they no

sooner appeared among their own, than they became the subject of general ridicule and most indecent remarks, so that to avoid being the butt of their tribe, they doffed their newly-acquired raiment, hung it upon a tree, and went *puris naturalibus*. Unwilling, however, to show themselves ungrateful to the Father, yet unable to bear the jests of their companions, they compromised the matter most conveniently for themselves by going naked in the tribe, and clad when returning to the mission!

The women throughout the whole of the country appear to have paid greater attention to modesty. With hardly any exception, they seem to have worn some defence of their virtue. The decentest and best clad were the Edues, who inhabited the southern part of the peninsula. Their garments consisted of a gown of the ordinary kind, reaching from the loins to the feet, and formed from the leaves of a species of palm-tree, beaten into flax and manufactured into thread. Over their shoulders was a garment of similar material. The hair was allowed to flow loosely on the back, while a net work of considerable ingenuity worn on the head, bracelets on the arms, and necklaces of shells, pearls and fruit-stones extending to the waist, gave them rather a handsome and attractive appearance.

The Laymonides women had a still more meagre wardrobe. They only made use of a garment made

of pieces of sedge, which descended from the waist to the knees. Sometimes they substituted the skin of a deer or other animal, which their husbands happened to kill in the chase. Like the Edues, they wore a cloak or over garment, but of a different kind, made from the skins of wolves, bears, foxes, or the like. This mode of attire is still in use among their unconverted descendants, for, though in most instances they have learned to dress after the civilized fashion, I have frequently seen them in the mountains of Nevada clothed in skins used as a cloak. The mode of carrying their infants is now the same as before; they are slung in baskets on the back. From what cause I am not aware, but their families never appear to be great, a couple or three children being the most belonging to any parent. Little though their intercourse with Americans be, it has not bettered their morals or ameliorated their condition. The use of intoxicating liquors, which has gone far to diminish their numbers, they have learned from the white man. As a rule, in every such case, the savage learns the vices, rather than virtues, of his masters.

As the people had no regularly appointed system of divine worship, as I shall presently show, when I come to speak of their religious form of belief, their festivals or gatherings partook more of the character of social entertainments than of religious assemblies. One of their principal fes-

tivals was the day set apart for the distribution of the skins of the animals taken during the year in the chase. The delight exhibited on these occasions, by the fair portion of the community, was in keeping with, in their eyes, the importance of the occasion. To them, a mantlet of beaver or rabbit skin, was as precious and as much the beautiful of perfection, as a silken or satin one would be to a Paris or London leader of fashion.

On the festival day, all the neighboring tribes and rancheros assembled at an appropriate place, where they erected an extensive arbor, the ground in front being cleared, to give room for the diversions of the people. In the arbor were placed the skins of the animals killed during the year, and spread out in regular order, so as to attract the wondering admiration of the multitude. None but the chiefs were permitted to enter the honored circle; ignoble blood should be contented to remain at a distance.

At the entrance of the arbor, arrayed in his habit of ceremony, stood a sorcerer, who, with animated gesture and wild vociferations, duly proclaimed the praises of the hunters. Meantime, the people, animated by the words of the orator, ran hither and thither in the wildest confusion, laughing, dancing, shouting and singing. The oration ended, as also the races, the skins were distributed, when the whole ended with a fandango

or ball, in which every principle of honor, propriety and virtue, was most shamefully outraged.

I have already remarked that this people passed their days in the open air, seeking shelter, in summer, from the action of the sun, in the shade afforded them in their native forests, and retiring, in winter, to the natural caves, found in the mountains and on the coasts. It is also equally true, that in some instances, they formed what, by some, might be regarded as dwellings. In the southern part of the peninsula, as also in Upper California, a custom prevailed, of constructing little huts of the branches of trees. In other parts, stone enclosures, a yard high and a couple wide, but devoid of a roof, served like purposes. In these meagre enclosures, the people generally slept, in a sitting posture. At present, the houses in use are, as I have remarked, small, conical huts, about four feet high, formed of sage brush, a kind of stunted shrub, piled loosely around a number of poles. Though thus greatly exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, rheumatic disorders are almost entirely unknown to the people. Moreover, it is to be observed, that the civilized life seems injurious to their constitutions, for, when any of their number are induced to conform to our customs, a general sickness and debility is certain to follow. The same was observed by the missionaries, as we learn from Father Clavijero, who assures us, that after the introduction of

Christianity, the number of the population became considerably diminished. From this, we might readily conclude that much of what civilization imposes upon us, as a necessity, is more the effect of our training, or the result of imagination, than an actual want of our nature.

Polygamy, or the custom of having a plurality of wives, was admitted and practiced; yet, though adopted by the people, it was more the exception than the rule. None but the chiefs availed themselves of the privilege. Infidelity to the matrimonial engagement was regarded as a heinous offence, except at their festival gatherings, where usage had legalized adultery, by granting to the victor in the race, the dance, or the wrestling match, this scandalous privilege. It would appear, however, that this custom prevailed only among the southern inhabitants; for, speaking of the northern tribes, a missionary describes them as reserved in their manners, and entirely free from debauchery and illegal amours.

The manner of forming the contract of marriage differed with the various localities. In one section of the country, it consisted in the bridegroom presenting his intended with a bowl made of thread. The damsel's acceptance or refusal formed or prevented the engagement. If the suitor were acceptable, the fair one, on her part, presented him with a net for his hair, the work of her own hands, and in this consisted the entire

ceremony. Among others, the covenant was made at the end of a fandango, which the lover gave in honor of his intended, and to which the entire tribe was invited.

In Upper California, the negotiations were generally conducted on more business-like principles. The lover repaired directly, *propria persona*, to the house of his inamorata, or loitered in the vicinity, until an opportunity presented itself of his addressing his beloved, when he made the proposal by saying, "I desire to marry you." To this, the girl invariably answered, "All right; I'll tell my parents, and you'll know."

Others, of a more timid and bashful disposition, used the intervention of a friend to learn the lady's intention, when, if not unfavorable, the assent of the parents was solicited. Not unfrequently, however, the parents themselves managed the entire matter, leaving the girl entirely unconscious of the affair until they addressed her as follows: "You are to marry so and so: you will be happy, because he is an excellent young man. You will have plenty to eat, because he knows how to kill the deer, the rabbit, and other game." A third class conducted the suit on different principles, by soliciting in the first instance the consent of the parents or guardians, which, when obtained, the girl was thus addressed by her father: "My child you are to marry such a one, for we have given you away to him."

From the moment the proffers were received, the suitor was admitted into the family as one of the household, taking upon him, at the same time, the obligations of providing for the requirements of all. The betrothed, on the other hand, immediately assumed the character of matron, attending to the domestic affairs, rising at dawn, bathing, supplying the fuel, and preparing the repast, all which she was required to perform alone. Thus, the young man had an opportunity of witnessing the admirable qualities of his intended. The wedding feast, which always lasted between three and four days, was attended not only by the friends and relatives of the bride and bridesgroom, but by the greater part of the village or rancheria where they lived. It was celebrated, according to custom, at the residence of the man, where a temporary arbor, capable of accommodating a large number of guests, was erected. The ceremony was begun by some of the chiefs, accompanied by a few of the matrons, going for the bride. On her arrival she was divested of her trinkets and superfluous garments, which her female attendants claimed as their legitimate spoil. Thereupon, she was placed on a mat by the side of her husband, and in this consisted the entire ceremony. They were then considered to be validly married. Before the termination of the feast, during which the guests occupied themselves in dancing, singing, and other amusements, the father ordinarily ad-

dressed his daughter on her duties and obligations as a wife: "Reflect, that you are the daughter of respectable parents; do nothing to offend them. Obey and serve your husband, who has been given to you by Chinighchinigh. Be faithful to him, for, if you are not, you will not only lose your life, but we shall be disgraced; and, if your husband does not treat you as he ought, tell us and you shall come back and live with us." ¹

The matrimonial engagements were not considered indissoluble. The parties were at liberty to withdraw from them whenever it suited their convenience. The idea of a perpetual obligation did not enter their minds. Nor, indeed, are we to be at all astonished at this; seeing that even the advanced enlightenment of the present day approves the same, albeit the Lord hath said: "What God hath joined let no man put asunder."

Those acquainted with the history of Brazil, will remember a custom known to prevail in that country, by which, contrary to every law of nature and reason, the man, and not the woman, was supposed to suffer the pangs of parturition. In this, the Californians were alike remarkable, for on the delivery of the wife, the husband affecting an extraordinary weakness, lay stretched out in his cave, or under a tree, while the unfortunate woman was left to shift for herself, or to suffer by

(1) See *Boscana*.

the neglect.¹ The husband, too, suffered on his part, for custom obliged him to spend several days in this manner on the meagerest diet. They were prohibited leaving the place, except for water and fuel. The use of fish and flesh was not permitted them, while smoking and diversions of every kind were absolutely unallowed. One of the unhappy results of this ludicrous custom, or, more properly, unnatural neglect on the part of the father, both of the mother and her offspring, was the crime of infanticide, to obviate which it was customary with the missionaries to allow the newly-delivered mothers a double allowance of grain. As in the Jewish law, the widow married the brother or nearest relative of the deceased.

In addition to the festival referred to above, there was another of equal if not greater importance, which they celebrated with unusual mirth and rejoicing. This was what in southern Europe might be called the gathering of the vintage, but with the Californians that of the *pithahayas*, an indigenous fruit, on which they mainly relied for subsistence during the greater part of the year. The gathering lasted during the principal part of one quarter, and was to the people, in a great measure, what the carnival is to many in Europe. The population on those occasions, remarks Father Salva Tierra, threw aside whatever little reason they had, and gave themselves up entirely to feast-

(1) This custom was not confined to America. Diodorus Siculus speaks of a like observance which once prevailed in Europe.

ing, dancing, and buffoonery, to the great diversion of all the spectators. As regards their dances, the same Father tells us they had a great variety of them, and that they acquitted themselves with much gracefulness and agility. Even the children were brought to engage in these festive entertainments, and showed as much joy at having cleverly performed their part as the older members of the assembly.

The occasion of these festivals was generally whenever fortune smiled on their efforts, or Providence was indulgent in their regard. Hence, upon the occasion of success in the chase, victory in war, a plentiful harvest, or the birth of a child, they gave expression to feelings of joy in a dance. Connected with the festivals were feats and trials of strength, in leaping and running. In times of peace, the greater part of their lives was spent in that fashion; but these days of pleasure and enjoyment were often interrupted by wars, factions, and feuds, in which the whole people engaged. Nor was the object of their wars the desire of enlarging their fame or possessions, but more for the purpose of revenging affronts and defending hereditary rights in the matters of fishing, hunting, or the gathering of supplies. In the management of war, they were as unskilled as they were ignorant in the other departments of life. A frightful noise and clamor, in which all engaged, indicated the commencement of hostilities. Every one pre-

pared to take part in the engagement, provided himself with a bow and arrows, or a wooden spear, carefully sharpened on the top, and hardened in the fire. Firearms they had none. Their mode of attack was as unskillful as their ideas were rude; without regularly disposing their men, or posting them according to some principle of war, they rushed forward tumultuously, and engaged without any order, except, indeed, that one body was kept in reserve, to take the place of the most forward when the arrows should fail. While the engagement was conducted at a distance, the arrows were used; but, when a contest became close, the spears were brought into play. The numbers slain on these occasions were oftentimes considerable, so that in several instances almost entire tribes completely disappeared.

In the matter of religion and the external worship of the Deity, the observances of the inhabitants differed exceedingly in parts. On the arrival of the missionaries in Lower California no formal idolatry was found to exist. Neither altars, temples, groves or other appointed places of religion were anywhere to be met with in the country: But, though destitute of every outward profession of faith in the character of public and private addresses to the Deity, there existed among them certain traditional notions regarding the unity and trinity of God, the fall of the angels, the deluge,

and other articles of Christian belief, which must be a matter of surprise to the reader.¹

In Upper California, on the other hand, idol-worship was commonly practiced. There was hardly a village or rancheria where the God Chinighchinigh was not worshiped in the shape of a stuffed Coyote.² In matters of religious belief their notions, stripped of many extravagances, were remarkably correct as regarded the leading dogmas of biblical history. Almost identical with the Christian idea, they held that the creation of the world was the work of an invisible omnipotent Being, to whom some gave the name of Nocumo, and others Chinighchinigh. Having created the earth and all organic irrational existence, the Deity next formed man out of a handful of dust, and gave him the name of Ejoni. How the first woman came to be formed they were unable to say, but the name she received was Aé, a word, as the reader will note, not very unlike the Oriental "Hawa" and the English "Eve."

Others accounted for the creation of the world in a different fashion. According to them, previous to the existence of our globe, there were two others, one above and one below, which stood in the relation to each other of brother and sister.

(1) It would seem that on some of the islands off the coast idol-worship was practiced. Speaking of the island of St. Catherine, Torquemada, the Mexican historian, says: "In this island are several rancherias or communities, and in them a temple with a large level court where they perform sacrifices." (See *Torquemada's Hist. Mex.*)

(2) The Coyote is a wild animal, something like a fox.

In the superior world all was light, splendor and magnificence, and in the inferior all was darkness and gloom, there being neither sun, moon nor stars. In time both were united in marriage, the result of which was the present earth, with all its material and animal life, and finally man, who was called "Ouiot." What is especially deserving of notice in the tradition is, that the creation of the world and of all animal and inanimate existence, was not, according to the Indian belief, the result of a single, but of six different births in the manner referred to, and hence the coincidence between this and the Mosaic account as given in Genesis. The order of creation, too, according to them, is worthy of remark. First earth and sand, next rocks and stone, then trees, afterward grass, subsequently animals, and finally man.

Ouiot, who became a great and powerful leader, had a numerous family, though it is not stated whence he obtained his partner in life. He finally fell a victim to a conspiracy formed for his destruction by his people. After his obsequies were performed, the Lord of the Universe, or Chinigh-chinigh, appeared in the form of a spectre to his descendants, and gave them power over the elements and animal creation, enabling them at pleasure to procure for themselves and their families those objects necessary for their existence. Then, from the clay found on the borders of a certain lake, the omnipotent Being formed a man and wo-

man, and from these the Indians acknowledged themselves descended. Chinighchinigh at the same time gave them a command in the following words: "Him who obeyeth me not or believeth not my teachings, I will chastise: to him I will send bears to bite, serpents to sting, misfortune, infirmities and death." He further ordered them to erect a temple to his honor where they should worship him by prayer and sacrifice. The plan of the building he dictated himself.

It consisted of an oval enclosure a few yards in circumference, within which a rude structure, four or five feet in height, formed of stakes, branches and mats, was erected. Here, elevated on a species of hurdle, was the figure of Chinighchinigh. It was formed out of the skin of the coyote, or prairie wolf, carefully removed and prepared so as to represent the living animal. Within the sack was placed a great variety of feathers, horns, claws, beaks, etc., of those animals taken in the chase. Arrows, too, were placed in the body of the idol, whilst around its loins was a species of under garment such as was used by the captains and chiefs. The respect paid to this ludicrous object was of the most remarkable kind, the people being careful when in its presence not to commit the most trivial act of irreverence. They never undertook any work of importance, never engaged in war, hunting, or amusement of any kind, without first worshipping the idol. The worship itself was as singu-

lar as the figure was uncouth. It consisted of a species of silent adoration performed *puris naturalibus*. "When in his presence," writes Father Boscana, "the Indians were entirely naked and remained for hours in a posture equally awkward and fatiguing—a sort of squat, resting their heads generally upon their right hands, without moving during the ceremony of adoration."

On less solemn occasions the worship was of a different but, perhaps, more ridiculous kind. It had, however, at least the merit of being an inspiring mode of devotion. It was conducted in this fashion: A figure, not very artistic in its outline, having been formed in the presence of the image, all the men of the tribe, led by the Captain, ran in regular succession, till arriving at the spot where the leader uttered a hideous cry, bounded high into the air, an evolution in which he was followed by each in his turn. The females, on the other hand, moved slowly up to the figure, to which they offered their homage by bowing the head and presenting their bateas, or instruments required for the expedition on which they happened to be entering.

The privileges of the temple, or vanqueech, as it was styled in the vernacular, were in keeping with the respect and veneration paid it by the people. Like several Christian Churches in former times, it possessed the right of sanctuary. Whoever entered within its sacred precincts and sought its

protection, no matter what crime he may have been guilty of—whether theft, adultery or murder, was from that moment supposed to be free, and could appear among his own without any fear of the consequences of his crime. Should reference ever happen to be made to the act, the aggrieved would merely say: “You sought the protection of Chinighchinigh, which, if you had not done, we would have killed you; he will, however, chastise you one day for your wickedness.”

This immunity of crime was founded on the belief that the Deity would not suffer any one to be molested who sought his protection. It is proper to observe that the God, Chinighchinigh, who was known under the triple appellation of Saor, Quaguar and Tobet, was, according their belief, a spirit and immortal, and yet underwent the penalty of death. Before leaving his people he instructed the leaders in everything requisite to be observed by his followers. When asked where he desired to be interred, his answer was to the effect that he would ascend into Heaven, where he would take an account of the actions of all, and reward and punish them accordingly. “When I die I shall ascend above the stars, where I shall always behold you; and to those who have kept my commandments I shall give all that they ask of me. But those who obey not my teachings, *nor believe them*, I shall punish severely. I will send unto them bears to bite, and serpents to sting: they shall be without

food, and have diseases that they may die.”¹ In short, Chinighchinigh, which is a synonym for omnipotence, was regarded by the Indians as an omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent being, the rewarder of good and the revenger of evil.

It is certain that this people had a very clear and unhesitating belief in the deluge. Their traditions and songs bear the most undeniable evidence of it. According to them, the sea at a time rose up from its bed in the deep, rolled in upon the land, and destroyed the entire human race, with the exception of a few who had betaken themselves to the summit of a lofty mountain where the waters were unable to reach them. The cause of the deluge they believed to have been the wickedness of Ouiot and his followers, upon whom Chinighchinigh took vengeance. The circumstances connected with it were embodied in their songs. Ouiot, who, as has been remarked, was a powerful chief, became so odious to his people on account of his tyranny and oppression, that they applied to Chinighchinigh, or the supreme one, for protection. He appearing to them in the form of a spirit, gave them power to destroy their oppressors by causing a general deluge. Addressing them, he said: “Do this, i. e., cause it to rain, and inundate the earth that *every living being may be destroyed.*”²

(1) *Boscana*, p. 256.

(2) See *Boscana*.

The tradition goes on to the effect that the rain fell, the rivers rose, the seas and oceans swelled and passed their limits, and rolling in upon the land, ceased not till they completely effected their purpose by destroying every living creature, except those capable of sustaining themselves in the waters, and the few of the human family that sought refuge on the top of the lofty mountain already referred to. Connected herewith was also the idea that such a calamity would never again befall the earth, for, when in moments of anger, the vindictive and revengeful were wont to solicit the destruction of their enemies in this fashion, they, on the other hand, were accustomed to express their belief in the pacific disposition of the Deity by saying: "We are not afraid, because Chinighchinigh does not wish, neither will he destroy the world *by another inundation.*"

Respecting the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul, there is no doubt but the inhabitants of Upper California had a confused—imperfect idea thereof. The former is clear, from the fact that once in the month, on the appearance of the new moon, all the rancherias assembled and danced as on a festive occasion, singing and shouting at the same time: "As the moon dieth and cometh to life again, so we also, having to die, *will live again;*" thereby expressing, I think, their belief in the resurrection of the body. Their belief in the immortality of the soul is inferred from

the fact that when, at their funeral obsequies, the body was burned. The heart, according to them, was never consumed, but went to a place destined for it by God. By the heart they evidently meant the spirit or soul, for which they had no word in their language, and, as their ideas were utterly gross and material, they pictured to themselves the joys of the world to come as those of an earthly paradise, something in the manner of the Valhalla of the Scandanavians, or the Behisth of the Mahometans, where they would be able to enjoy every sensual pleasure and gratification.

CHAPTER VII.

CALIFORNIAN PAGAN PRIESTS.—THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF MEDICINE.—
TREATMENT OF PATIENTS.—MODE OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD.—
INFLUENCE OF THE PRIESTS.—THEIR DECALOGUE.—TRADITIONS
APPARENTLY CHRISTIAN.—MEXICAN CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS.—THE
DELUGE.—THE CROSS.—MONASTIC ESTABLISHMENTS.—VIRGIN-
ITY.—FASTS.—BAPTISM.—CONFESSION.—EUCCHARISTS.—CRUCI-
FIXION.

As the reader has been informed, no formal idolatry was found to exist in Lower California, upon the arrival of the missionaries. At the same time, as I have said, they had certain traditional notions, which specially deserve the attention of the reader. I shall first speak of the religious teachers of the people, and then of the religion itself.

The Priests, or guides of the multitude, if they so deserve to be styled, belonged to one or other of two sects, called Tuparons and Niparons. They also went by the name of Dichianochos and Vamos, or Guamos. Their duty was to preside at festivals, to sing the praises of the deserving, to teach the children destined for the sacerdotal office, the meaning and use of certain figures, represented on little wooden tablets, which, they affirmed, the visiting spirits had bestowed upon them. They further exercised the medical faculty, and, as such, combined the triple character of priest, bard and physician. From the communications they

were supposed to hold with the spirits, their authority among the people was great; but they did not, according to the opinion of the missionaries, hold any communication with the evil spirits. Their imposture was entirely confined to impressing the people with the belief that success was to be acquired, and calamities averted, by liberality to them. The choicest of the fruits, and the best of the game, were supposed to be theirs; and, whenever a neglect of this duty was shown, it was visited with an invective, in which sickness, disasters and death were liberally threatened, as a consequence, on the unhappy delinquent.

Their supposed knowledge of the medical art, served to increase their reputation with the people. In this, the multitude only followed a natural instinct; for, in every instance, the hope of relief from painful distempers leads us to regard with respect and veneration the subject of our hopes. The remedies used were two-fold, and consisted of external appliances. The more common and efficacious, was the fumigation of the affected member, by means of a stone tube. With the view of dispelling the disease, or of sucking it out, the physician applied to the suffering member, a pipe or tube formed of hard, black stone. Through this he blew the smoke of the cinnamon or wild tobacco, which, it would appear, produced, in some instances, a beneficial effect. The simple process of blowing through the pipe, was also resorted to,

for it was thought, that by this means the disease was either dispersed or exhaled. The remedies used for external affections, such as tumors, swellings and sores, were fomentations, ointments and plasters of different herbs. Should the patient happen to be a child, its little finger was cut, and the blood suffered to drop on the part diseased.

In other parts of the country, the medical treatment, though somewhat the same, differed a little in detail. For all external, cutaneous diseases, the application of certain medicinal herbs, chiefly the sage, rosemary or nettle-plant, was the only prescription, while for internal disorders, fever, dysentery and the like, cold water baths were constantly resorted to. A good whipping with nettles, on the part affected, or the application of a goodly number of ants, was also regarded an excellent remedy!

The scientific principle on which the medical faculty acted was, that the various diseases under which the patients happened to suffer, were the result of the introduction of certain particles into the system. Before undertaking a cure, they were always sure to perform certain superstitious observances, after which, the entire body of the patient was carefully examined, when the unfailing result was certain to be arrived at—that some external object, some bit of stone, bone or other, had entered the body, and was the cause of the malady. The operation intended for removing this,

was then entered upon. It consisted in wrapping the patient in grass, feathers, horse or human hair, blowing at the same time toward the four cardinal points, and uttering certain mysterious sounds, accompanied with antic gestures. This done, the medical attendant applied his lips to the part affected, and pretended to suck out the cause of the disease; but, if this proved unavailing, he proceeded to the still more ludicrous extreme of attempting to pluck it out physically, by thrusting his fingers into the patient's mouth.

When every remedy had been exhausted, and the patient seemed beyond the hope of recovery, the friends and relatives gathered around, and gave expression to their sorrow, in the bitterest and most mournful lamentations. And should the sufferer happen to slumber, they immediately aroused him by beating him soundly on the head and the body, in order, as they thought, to keep him alive, though to others such a proceeding would seem rather calculated to produce a contrary result. The dead were either buried or burned, according to the particular locality in which they happened to live. In some parts, the fashion was to bury, in others, to burn; but, in both instances, all the effects of the deceased, whether bows and arrows, feathers, skins and the like, shared the same fate as himself, being either buried or burned, according to circumstances.

The authority of the Californian priest was es-

pecially noticeable on public occasions when a whole tribe or rancheria celebrated a festival. It is true the worship of God, or of deified mortals, did not enter into their festivals, for, as I have remarked, they had no formal manner of worship. Their gatherings partook entirely of social assemblies, wherein the people regaled and amused themselves by eating, drinking, dancing and buffoonery. The presence of the priest, however, habited in his sacerdotal appointments, gave them a solemn and imposing effect, and obtained for the Religious themselves a large share of public respect. The sacerdotal garments used on these occasions consisted of a cloak, a necklace, a mitre and a fan. The cloak, which somewhat resembled a cope, was made of human hair, and completely enveloped the figure from head to foot. The hair was ordinarily obtained as fees for medical attendance, as well as for the matriculation of students in the same act. Hawks, owls, or other bird's plumage constituted the material of which the mitre was composed, but when these could not be procured, tails, hoofs and horns of quadrupeds supplied their place. The necklace was not of the most costly or elegant material, being merely a string of deers' feet hung around the neck. These, together with a monstrous fan, and the inevitable stone tube for sucking the patients, constituted the whole paraphernalia of a Californian pagan priest.

The grotesqueness of their general appearance

was still further increased by daubing their faces and bodies with different colors. The reader can readily understand how such remarkable characters would be looked upon and revered by an utterly ignorant and barbarous race. The entertainment commenced by the priest smoking the chucuaco, or pipe. When partially intoxicated he began an oration accompanied with wild, extravagant gestures, on the greatness and importance of his tenets. The decalogue was not the same in every part, but in substance, as favoring themselves, it did not materially differ. Father Taraval, one of the first missionaries, has given the following as the code of one of this class:

1st. The people were not to eat of their first hunting or fishing, under pain of being disqualified from hunting or fishing in future.

2d. They were not to eat of certain fish.

3d. They should forbear eating particular parts of game—the fattest and best—for by doing so old age would immediately ensue. Thus the best pieces fell to the priest, but as they were advanced in years they had no reason to fear.

4th. The people should not gather certain fruits as belonging to the Hechiceros.

5th. If they caught a stag or fish of unusual size they should not use it, as it belonged to the priest, etc.

Thus it will be seen that they endeavored to enforce a system of tithes, nor, indeed, were their ef-

forts unavailing, for the people seemed to have strictly attended to their injunctions. While delivering their tenets they pretended to be inspired by the spirits, and even at times would have the people believe that they were the spirits themselves. At other times they pretended to have been in Heaven, and to have conversed with the Deity. To prove the truth of their assertions, they were wont to have recourse to the most ludicrous argument, producing a morsel of flesh which they affirmed they received from the Almighty, and by virtue of which they could, at their pleasure, deprive any of their hearers of life. The termination of these feasts was the most odious and shameful in the history of the world. The Roman Lupercal alone offers a parallel to the horrible depravity indulged in on the occasion. "Inflamed (says Father Venegas) by gluttony, intemperance and dancing, the whole concluded in the most abominable gratification of their appetites, all mingling indiscriminately, as if determined to violate every principle of shame, reason and modesty."

The religious convictions of the people next demand the attention of the reader. They were remarkable for several reasons. Like the people of Upper California, the Pericues, who inhabited the southern part of the peninsula, held the Christian doctrine respecting the existence of one supreme, omnipotent, omniscient being, the creator of

Heaven and earth and all things. This God, whom they called Niparaya, they believed to be a spirit having no body and therefore invisible. He had a spouse named Anayicoyondi, but though they never co-habited, he had by her three sons:—one, who was called Cuajup, or *True Man*, was born on earth in the mountains of Acaraqui, and lived a long time amongst men in order to instruct them. He was most powerful, had a great number of followers, having descended into the earth and brought them thence; but these ungrateful persons, despising his benefits, formed a conspiracy against him, put *a crown of thorns upon his head and slew him*. Though dead, his body still remains incorrupt and extremely beautiful; blood constantly flows from it, he does not speak, but he has a bird through which he communicates.

Their tradition regarding the fall of the angels was equally remarkable. There happened, according to them, in former time a tremendous battle between the celestial powers. A powerful personage, whom some called Tuparon but others Bac, or Wac, conspired with several companions against the Supreme Niparaya. In a battle which followed, Bac was overcome, driven out of Heaven, and confined, with his followers, in a cave under the earth. They further added, that all quarreling, fighting, and bloodshed were displeasing to Tuparon, but agreeable to Bac, for all who die under

such circumstances go to his kingdom, and become subject to his dominion. The primary consequence of this doctrine naturally led to two classes or sects among the people. The one siding with Niparaya were grave, circumspect and humane; while those who espoused the principles of Tuparon were false, deceitful, and bloodthirsty. With the former, the missionaries had little or no difficulty in prevailing upon them to accept the evangelical truths; but, with the latter, their labors were for years in a great measure unavailing.

The Guacuros, Laymones, Monqui, and others, who inhabited the midland and northern part of the peninsula, declared their belief in the great Spirit of Spirits whom they called *Guamongo*, and who they affirmed dwelt above. They had no word in their language properly to express Heaven. To Guamongo they attributed the existence of sickness, infirmities and death. He sent, they believed, in former times, another Spirit, named *Gugiaqui*, to visit the earth in his name, and to relieve the natural wants of man. This Spirit occupied himself during his mission upon earth in sowing the fruit trees, and in forming the bays and creeks along the coast. He was attended by inferior spirits, who supplied him with all the necessaries of life, in the shape of fish, fruits and berries, for, though a spirit, he was not exempt from the natural wants of man. During some time, while he remained in retirement in the Bay

of Loretto, he occupied himself in making garments for his priests. His mission accomplished, he returned to the north, whence he came, and ascended into Heaven ; but, before leaving the earth, he bequeathed as a memorial to his priests a painted tablet, which they used at their entertainments on festive occasions. The Guacurian Doctors also affirmed that the sun, moon and stars were not what they appeared, but human beings who shone in the firmament, and fell daily into the sea in the west, but swam out by the east.

The Cochimes, who were the most numerous and intelligent of all the aboriginal tribes, possessed a still more remarkable tradition than the preceding. They believed in the existence in Heaven of an omnipotent being, whose name in their language signified "*He who lives.*" He had, they affirmed, two sons begotten unto him, without any communication with woman. The first had two names, one of which implied *perfection*, and the other *velocity*. The title of the second was "He who maketh Lords." Although they gave the name of Lord indifferently to all three, when asked by the missionaries how many spirits there were, they answered "only one"—He who created heaven, earth and all things. Like the Pericues, the Cochimes had a remarkably clear and accurate idea of the fall of the angels. Their belief in this was quite in accordance with the divine, revealed doctrine of the Church. The Lord who liveth cre-

ated, they said, numerous spirits, who revolted against Him, and since then, are both His and our enemies. To these spirits they gave the very appropriate name of *liars or deceivers*. Their business was to be ever on the alert, so that when men departed this life they might seize them, take them to their own place of abode, and thus prevent them from ever seeing the "Lord who lives." There was also a tradition current among the more northern Cochimes, of a man, who, in former times, came from Heaven to benefit the human race; he was called "*Tamambei ucambi tevivichi*," which signifies the Man from Heaven. They could not say what benefits he conferred on the human family, or if he had given them any form of religion or worship; yet, in honor of the event, they were accustomed to celebrate annually the *Feast of the Man from Heaven*. The festival was entirely devoid of every semblance of worship, and consisted merely, like their other national entertainments, in feasting, dancing and rejoicing. For some days previous, the women were occupied in gathering such fruits as the country afforded, in order to regale the Divinity upon his arrival. On the morning of the festival, a youth was secretly selected by the elders, and told how to perform his part. Having been painted with different colors, and dressed in various skins, he was privately conducted to a retired part of the mountains, where he lay concealed for some time. When the hour arrived for making

his appearance, he showed himself on the summit of one of the neighboring mountains, and, thence descending, ran rapidly, till he joined the assembly. After the feast, the youth returned the same way, and disappeared among the hills. A portion of the people, especially the females, were persuaded that their visitor was what he pretended to be—a veritable god. The Cochimes also celebrated annually another festival, of a somewhat kindred character. The departed, whom they supposed to inhabit the northern regions, came annually, according to their opinion, to pay them a visit. As in the former instance, the females were obliged to procure large quantities of supplies for the occasion. When the anniversary day had arrived, the male portion of the community, in company with the dead, who were supposed to have favored them with their presence, assembled and feasted on the provisions, while the women and children remained at a distance, weeping and lamenting the death of their friends and relatives.

The question will now occur to the reader, whence the ancient Californians obtained these doctrines, so like those of the Christian religion, and of which the above are only a sample. Before offering any opinion in solution hereof, it is only proper to observe, that these were only a part of a still larger body of, apparently Christian, traditions, held by many of the American races on the arrival of the Spaniards. In his work on the

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missions, Charlevoy speaks of a tribe on the north Atlantic border, whose customs, religious traditions and observances led him to believe them the descendants of a once Christian community. In Mexico, Central and South America, the similarity was found to be still more striking. Like the Californians, the Aztecs or Mexicans believed in the existence of one supreme, omnipotent Being, the Creator of Heaven and earth. Their tradition respecting the great cataclysm, was to the effect that the entire human race, with the exception of two persons, Coxcox and his wife, were destroyed by the waters.¹ These were represented as having been saved by embarking in a little boat, which is represented in the hieroglyphical writings as floating on the surface of the waters.² The dove and the crow, had likewise their place in the traditions, the crow which, according to them, was an eagle, being said to have acted exactly as represented in Scripture.

But it was not merely of the Biblical facts of ancient history that the Spaniards found a record amongst the people, and of which, no doubt, a knowledge might have been had without an acquaintance with the Christian religion. They

(1) "They said that when mankind were overwhelmed with the deluge, none were preserved but a man called Coxcox, to whom others gave the name of Teocipactli, and a woman called Xochiquetzal, who saved themselves in a little bark, and having afterward got to land upon a mountain, called by them Colhuacan, had there a great many children." *Hist. Mex.*; Clavijero: vol. I., p. 244.

(2) *History of the Conquest of Mexico*: Prescott. Appendix, p. 379.

further encountered what seemed to them the most incontrovertible evidences of the former introduction of Christianity into the country. What first arrested their attention and led them to such a conclusion, was the existence and frequency of the cross which met them on all sides. Everywhere throughout the entire of the Mexican Empire this symbol of our holy religion was worshipped and adored by the people. It was raised in the villages, cut on the rocks, erected on the highways, and adored in the temples. "Hardly had the Spaniards," writes the learned Dr. Mier, "approached the continent of America in 1519, and disembarked in Cozumel, near to Yucatan, when they found several crosses within and without the temples, and in one of the court-yards was an especially large one, around which it was customary for the people to go in procession when asking favors of the God. This was an especial object of veneration to the people. Crosses were also found in Yucatan, even on the breasts of the dead in the sepulchres. Hence, it was that the Spaniards began to call that place New Spain."¹

Veytia, another learned writer, speaking of the same period, also says: "Cortes found a great stone cross in a beautiful enclosure, which, from the most ancient times, was adored in Acuzamil or Cozumel, and Gomara affirms that that place was regarded as the common sanctuary of all the

(1) *Suplemento al Libro Tercero de la Conquista de Mexico, por P. Sahagun*, p. 277.

adjacent islands, and that there was no village without its cross of stone or other material. They also found crosses in Chollolan, in Tollan, in Texcoco, and other parts.”¹

Prescott, in his history of Mexico, affirms the same: “He (Fernando Cortes) was astonished also at the sight of large stone crosses, evidently objects of worship, which he met with in various places. Reminded by these circumstances of his own country, he gave the peninsula the name of New Spain, a name since appropriated to a much wider extent of territory.”²

There was even a temple, called the Temple of the Holy Cross, where that sacred emblem was worshiped, and what is especially deserving of attention is, that this was regarded by the people as the most ancient temple in the country.³

Not only in Cozumel, Yucatan and the neighboring provinces, but all through Mexico, in Brazil and Peru, the same remarkable phenomenon was observed. “They,” (the Spaniards) writes Prescott, “could not suppress their wonder as they beheld the cross, the sacred emblem of their own faith, raised as objects of worship in the temples of Anahuac. They met with it in various places, and the image of a cross may be seen at this day,

(1) *Historia Antigua de Mexico por El Lic. D. Mariano Veytia*: vol. 1, p. 167.

(2) *Hist. Conquest Mex.*: vol. 1, p. 225.

(3) “*Y esta es el primer templo de que hallo memoria en las historias de los Indios*”: Veytia, vol. 1, p. 203.

sculptured in bas-relief, on the walls of one of the buildings of Palenque, while a figure, bearing some resemblance to that of a child, is held up to it as if in adoration.”¹ For the fact of its being found in Brazil and Peru we shall see further on.

The existence of monastic establishments of men and women, where the inmates led a retired penitential life, did not fail, in like manner, to excite the surprise of the Europeans. Both in Mexico and Peru, such establishments were found. “I do not know,” (writes Joseph Acosta, in his *History of the Indies*) “that in Peru there are any proper houses for men, but for the priests and sorcerers, whereof there is an infinite number. But it seemeth that in Mexico the devil hath set a due observation; for, within the circuit of the great temple, there were two monasteries, as hath been said before, one of virgins, whereof I have spoken, the other of young men secluded, of eighteen or twenty years, whom they call Religious. They wear shaved crowns, as the Friars in these parts. * * * * All these had their superiors, who had the government over them. They lived so honestly, as when they came in public, where there were any women, they carried their heads very low, with their eyes to the ground, not daring to behold them. They had linen garments, and it was lawful for them to go into the city, four or six together, to ask alms.”² The same writer, in another

(1) *Prescott's Hist. Mex.*

(2) *Lib. 5, chap. 16, p. 372.*

part of his work, says: "There were, in Peru, many monasteries of virgins—for there are no others admitted—at the least one in every province. * * * Every monastery had its superior, called Appapanaca." The same is vouched for by Clavijero, in his *History of Mexico*: "There were different orders of men and women, who dedicated themselves to the worship of some particular god. Some lived in community, others did not, but had a superior in the district, or part of the town where they lived; they used to assemble in a house at sunset, to dance and sing the praises of their god. The most celebrated order was that of Quetzalcohuatl. There were men and women of this order; they led a most rigid life; their dress was very decent; they bathed at midnight, watched until about two hours before day, singing hymns, etc."¹ Speaking of another order, a kind of monastic institution, devoted to the worship of the goddess Centcotl, which he takes to signify "Our Mother," the same writer says: "They lived in great retirement and austerity, and their life, excepting their superstition and vanity, was perfectly unimpeachable. None but men above sixty years of age, who were widowers, estranged from all commerce with women, and of virtuous life, were admitted into this monastery. Their number was fixed, and when any one died, another was received in his stead."²

(1) *History of Mexico*: Clavijero. Translated from the original Italian, by Charles Cullen. London, 1787. Vol. I., p. 277.

(2) Ibid.

The female Religious were equally remarkable for the purity and austerity of their lives. They took vows either for life or only for a time; and what is worthy of attention is, that upon entering into the service of religion, the first thing required of them was to part with their hair. "The first thing done to those who entered into the service on account of some private vow, was the cutting of their hair. Both the former and the latter (*i. e.*, those consecrated for ever and only for a time) lived in great purity of manners, *silence* and retirement, under their superiors, without having any communication with men. Some of them rose about two hours before midnight, others at midnight, and others at day-break, to stir up and keep the fire burning, and to offer incense to the idols; and, although in this function, they assembled with the priests, they were separated from each other, the men forming one wing and the women the other, both under the view of their superiors, who prevented any disorder from happening. Every morning they prepared the offering of provisions, which was presented to the idols, and swept the lower area of the temple; and the time which was not occupied in these or other religious duties, was employed in spinning and weaving beautiful cloths for the dress of the idols, and the decoration of the sanctuaries. Nothing was more zealously attended to than *the chastity of these virgins.*

Any trespass of this nature was unpardonable; if it remained an entire secret, the female culprit endeavored to appease the anger of the god, by fasting and austerity of life; for she dreaded that, in punishment of her crime, her flesh would rot."¹

The office of priesthood, though performed equally by the females and the males, was limited in the case of the former to the keeping of the temples, tending the fires, and offering incense to the idols; so that, in reality, they stood in relation to each other as the deaconesses of the primitive Church to the true ministers of religion.

Among their fasts, which were very numerous and in some instances lengthy, varying from three to one hundred and sixty days, and even to four years, there was one of *forty days*. On the authority of Torquemada, we learn that their ideas regarding the future state in the world to come, were in a great measure in harmony with the true doctrine of the Church.² But the most striking and remarkable of all their religious observances were those of which we are now about to speak. Everywhere throughout Mexico, in parts of Central and Southern America, a species of baptism, differing very little from that as administered in the Chris-

(1) *Hist. Mex.*, Clavijero: vol. I., p. 275-276.

(2) "Lo opinion, que estos Indios Occidentales tuvieran à cerca de las partes, y lugares donde las Animas iban despues de haver dejada sus cuerpos era en parte conforme à la verdad Catolica que professamos los que tenemos Fè cierta y verdadera de la Lei de Gesu Christo y en parte uni erada": *Torquemada*, lib. 13, cap. 48, p. 529.

tian religion was practiced by the people.¹ Father Ramesal assures us that when the first Spaniards arrived in Yucatan, they found commonly practised a sacred ablution which the people termed a "new birth," and by which they expected to arrive at the Kingdom of Heaven. Such importance did they attribute to this rite that it was rarely or never omitted. "They had such a devotion and reverence for it," says Veytia, "that no one failed to receive it. They thought that they received in it a new disposition to be good—the means of escaping damnation and of attaining everlasting glory."²

In the territories of Texcoco, Mejico, Tlacopan, and others, there were certain festivals, at which all the children were publicly baptized, but it was ordinarily the custom to baptize on the seventh day after the birth. What is further to be observed in this regard is, that it was sometimes administered by infusion and sometimes by immersion. It seems to have been performed twice in

(1) "Es Constante que en *todo este pais* se hallò establecida una especie de bautismo que aunque variaba en las ceremonias segun los lugares en lo sustancial conveian todos en este baño de agua natural, diciendo sobre el bautizado algunas formuelas, como preces y oraciones y poniendole nombre y esto observaban como rito de religion": Veytia, vol. 1, p. 181.

"No solo averiguaran ellos lo mismo que Montejo sino que los Indios se bautizaban todos sin fulto dando al bautismo el nombre de renascencia como Tesueristo le llama en el Evangelio: *nisi quis renatus fuerit*, etc.: y que lo recibian con las mismas ceremonias de los Christianos hasta imponiendo el lienzo blanco, y con esorcismas, ayunando antes tres dias los padres y guardando continencia ocho dias despues, y confesandose los que eran grandecillos como en la primitiva Iglesia los catecumenos. Y todos usaban la confesion y otras muchas ceremonias de la Iglesia." (*Suplemento al Libro Tercero del P. Labagun*, p. 277.)

(2) Veytia's *Hist. Mex.*, p. 182.

the case of every infant:—first privately, immediately on the birth of the infant, and afterwards publicly in the presence of the friends and relatives. The latter was by far the more solemn. It was the midwife who officiated in both instances. The first ceremonial consisted in bathing the child, repeating at the same time the following prayer—a kind of invocation to Chalchinhcuego, the goddess of childbirth: “Receive the water, for the goddess Chalchinhcuego is thy mother. *May this bath cleanse the spots which thou bearest from the womb of thy mother, purify thy heart and give thee a good and perfect life.*” This was followed by another and more formal address to the same Deity, after which the midwife, or priestess, took up the water in her right hand, blew upon it, wet the head, mouth and breast of the child, bathed its entire body and continued: “May the invisible God descend upon this water and *cleanse thee from every sin and impurity*, and free thee from all evil fortune;” and then, turning to the child, she thus addressed it: “Lovely child, the gods Ometeuctli and Omecihuatl have created thee in the highest place in Heaven, in order to send thee into the world; but know that the life that thou art entering is sad, painful, and full of uneasiness and miseries; nor wilt thou be able *to eat thy bread without labor*. May God assist thee in the many adversities which await thee.” The parents were then congratulated on the birth of their child, and the

astrologers consulted regarding the time considered to be propitious for the second ablution. If the sixth or seventh days were not regarded as such it was deferred to a later date. Meantime, all the friends and relatives were invited to be present at the ceremonies, and to partake of the banquet to be given in honor of the occasion. On the day appointed, at a very early hour, before the sun had risen, the entire household and guests assembled in the court-yard, in the middle of which was placed a pitcher, or vase of water, intended for the ceremony. Having lighted a number of torches, the child was received by the midwife, who, after a certain ceremonial, such as turning her face to the west, blowing upon the water, etc., sprinkled the head of the child with the water, saying: "O, my child, take and receive the water of the Lord of the world, which is our life, and is given for the increasing and renewing of our bodies. It is to wash and purify. I pray that these heavenly drops may enter into your body, and dwell there; that they may destroy and remove from you all the evil *and sin which was given to you before the beginning of the world, since all of us are under its power, being all the children of Chalchivitly-cue.*" ¹ The midwife next bathed the entire body of the child, uttering a kind of exorcism as she proceeded, in this fashion: "Where art thou, ill fortune? In what limb art thou hid? Go from

(1) *History of Mexico*. Clavigero, vol. 1, p. 317.

this child." And, according to Sahagun: "Whence-soever thou comest, thou art hurtful to this child; leave him and depart from him, for he now liveth anew, and is *born anew*; now is he purified and cleansed afresh, and our mother Chalchivitlycue again bringeth him into the world." ¹ This was followed by an invocation to the Deity in behalf of the infant: "O, Lord, thou seest here thy creature whom thou has sent into this world, this place of sorrow, suffering and penitence. Grant him, O Lord, thy gifts and thy inspirations, for thou art the great God, and with thee is the great goddess."

Were we to stop here, and to compare the manifest analogy that exists between these religious customs and observances, and those of the Catholic Church, the suspicion would necessarily force itself on our mind as to their origin and identity. There is no impartial inquirer that must not see in the worship of the cross, in the existence of monastic establishments and the administration of a baptism, such as we have spoken of, a strong similarity with kindred observances of our holy religion. Indeed, on any other hypothesis, save that of the preaching of the Christian religion in the country, it would be difficult to account on satisfactory grounds for the existence of such practices amongst Pagans; for who but an

(1) *Historia de Nueva España Sahagun*, lib. 6, cap. 37. *Hist. Conquest of Mexico*: Prescott, vol. 3, p. 385.

Apostle would have taught them to reverence the symbol of the Christian religion; who but a preacher of truth would have taught them to practice that most difficult virtue for man—continence; who, in fine, would have taught them the necessity and efficacy of that baptism or ablution which they administered, and by which they hoped to attain life everlasting? And the suspicion thus created in the mind as to the origin of these practices is further increased and confirmed by the other religious observances found to exist in the country.

On the first arrival of the Spaniards, auricular confession was found to be practiced by the people. There can be no doubt about the existence of this practice in the country. All the Spanish historians, Sahagun, Torquemada, Garcia and others, speak of it as a certainty. Herrera assures us it was practiced at Nicaragua, in Central America. Joseph Acosta tells us it prevailed in Peru; and Veytia, than whom few are more reliable and trustworthy in matters of history, speaks of it as being in use in the Mexican dominions.¹ The obligation of secrecy was attached to the rite, and any violation of trust on the part of the confessor, was visited with the severest penalties. The pen-

(1) "They confessed themselves almost verbally in almost all the Provinces, and had confessors appointed by their superiors to that end, *there were some sins reserved for the superiors.*" (*Hist. of the Indies*: Acosta. Book 5, chap. 25, p. 398.)

(1) "No es menos notable la costumbre que hallaron establecida de confesarse con los sacerdotes, declarandoles aquellas cosas que tenían por culpas, y aceptando la penitencia que les imponían:" (Veytia *Hist. Mex.*)

ances administered were often very severe, especially when the offender was poor, and had nothing to pay. Attempts to conceal anything in confession was looked upon as a most heinous offence. They confessed only their deeds and not their thoughts, thereby leading us to conclude that they ranked only the former in the category of sins. The Confessors, or Ychuri, as the Peruvian Religious were called, were supposed to be able to know whether the penitent was making an honest confession or not. In the latter case, they beat him on the shoulders with a stone, till he made a full acknowledgment of all his misdeeds. Besides ordinary times, they always confessed when afflicted by any calamity. Thus, when any member of the family happened to fall sick, the entire household confessed; and, in like manner, the entire province, when the Ingua or Monarch became ill; but he never confessed, except to the Sun.¹

Prescott asserts the same: "The great cities were divided into districts, placed under the charge of a sort of parochial clergy, who regulated every act of religion within their precincts. It is remarkable that they administered the rites of *confession and absolution*. The secrets of the confessional were held inviolable; and penances were imposed of much the same kind as those enjoined in the Roman Catholic Churches."

(1) The custom in Mexico was different, for there they confessed only once in their lives.

The address made by the priests to the Deity and penitent respectively on these occasions, the penances enjoined, and the form of absolution employed, were very remarkable, and bore a striking analogy to those of our holy religion. The confession, it is proper to remark, was made only once in one's life by the Mexicans; for, according to them, a relapse into sin was inexpiable. Hence, they ordinarily deferred unburdening themselves to their confessors till the moment of death. The belief respecting the efficacy of the rite was very remarkable. By it, they deemed themselves freed from their sins, and rendered agreeable to God; but only, if we are to judge from the words of the priest, on the condition of being contrite of heart, and determined not to relapse into sin for the future. The pardon conveyed to them by the ministers of religion, it is also proper to remark, they regarded as only a delegated act, the power of forgiving sin being, according to them, proper to the Deity. "They said that they had also the power to pardon them, and to purify them from their sins, *if they confessed them to their priests.*"

Before hearing the confession, the priest made the following address to the Deity: "O Lord, Thou who art the parent and most ancient of all the gods, behold this Thy servant, who presenteth himself here before Thee in affliction, with much sorrow and great grief, for having erred and been guilty of crimes worthy of death, for which he is

greatly grieved and afflicted. Most Merciful Lord, who art the acceptor and defender of all—receive the repentance of this Thy creature and servant.”

Then turning to the penitent, he addressed him thus: “My son, thou hast come into the presence of the most merciful and beneficent God: thou hast come to declare thy hidden sins and crimes: thou hast come to open to Him the secrets of thy heart. * * * Lay open all without shame in presence of Our Lord, who is called *Yoallichectla*, that is *Tezcatlipoca*. It is certain thou art in His presence, although thou art unworthy to see Him, although He doth not speak to thee; for He is invisible and not palpable. Take care, then, how thou comest, what kind of heart thou bringest; do not hesitate to publish thy secret sins in His presence, recount thy life, relate thy works in the same manner as thou hast committed thy excesses and offences. Lay open thy maladies in His presence, and manifest them *with contrition* to Our Lord God, who is the acceptor of all, and who, with open arms, is ready to embrace thee, and to receive thy confession. Take care thou dost not conceal anything through shame or heedlessness.” The penitent then solemnly promised to declare the truth; after which he proceeded to the confession of his sins. This done, the priest imposed on him the penance to be performed, and imparted to him the absolution, which was in the deprecatory form, as in the Greek Church. The prayer, which was

very long, begun thus: "Oh, Most Merciful Lord, protector and defender of all, Thou hast heard the confession of this poor sinner. * * * O Lord, Thou who knowest all things, dost know that he has not sinned with entire freedom of his will, but from the influence of the sign under which he was born. * * * Then, Most Merciful Lord, graciously pardon him, cleanse him and grant him *the pardon, forgiveness and remission of all his sins*, etc."¹

To the foregoing we will add an account of one more most ancient and remarkable custom—indeed, the most remarkable of all. I allude to the feast in honor of the god Huitzilpochtli, wherein a ceremony was gone through and an offering made, which remind us very forcibly of the sacrifice of the Mass and the Holy Communion. That the reader may not accuse us of a too hasty and unwarrantable conclusion, we give the account as related by the Spanish historians: "Nothing is better known," says Veytia, "than the offerings they made of *bread and wine*, that is, bread of unleavened corn, for they had no wheat, and that beverage which they used for wine. The Mexicans celebrated a solemn feast in honor of Centcotl, the god of corn, which was their food, and they did this by forming the body of this god in a human shape from a lump of unleavened corn paste, in which they mixed some herbs. Having baked it on the day of the feast, they took it in procession,

(1) Vide Sahagun *Historia General de Nueva Espagna*, p. 12-13.

with great solemnity, and around it they placed a great quantity of small particles of the same composition, which the priests, having blessed with certain formularies and ceremonies, they believed that it was changed into *the flesh of that god*. The feast or ceremony being concluded, the priest distributed all that bread to the people, in small particles. All, big and little, men and women, rich and poor, eat of it, receiving it with great reverence, humility and tears, saying that they eat the flesh of their God; they also took it to the sick as a remedy. They fasted for four days previous, and considered it a great sin to eat or drink anything after having partaken of that bread until after mid-day. They even concealed the water from the children lest they might drink. This was the most solemn feast that they celebrated; at the end of it one of the elders delivered a kind of sermon in explanation of the ceremonies.”¹

Dr. Mier is equally explicit on this point. “At the same time exactly,” says Father Sahagun, “that we celebrate the Pasque the Mexicans celebrated theirs after a fast of forty days, during which they abstained from flesh, wine and the use of matrimony. A public penance preceded the celebration of the Pasque. The reader will remember that public penitents were formerly reconciled to the Church at that time. Immediately water

(1) *Hist. Antig Mex.*: Veytia, vol. 1, p. 187-188. Vide etiam Sahagun XXI.

was solemnly blessed, as we Catholics are yet accustomed to do on holy Saturday—when solemn baptism was formerly administered. Then they made from seeds the statue of their god *Huitzilpochtli*, (not of any other), which, according to Torquemada, had to be made in the *Chapel of the Lord of the crown of thorns*, whence they took it, accompanied by music, to the principal altar, watching all night as the ancient Christians. All the village then arrived to make its offering, after which the priests came and consecrated the statue. And Torquemada takes notice that they made use of for this purpose certain words of consecration, and that from that moment they regarded it as the very flesh and bones of the god *Huitzilpochtli*. It was then taken in procession, at the conclusion of which the priest, who presided over the ceremonies, and who necessarily represented *Quetzalcohuatl*, pierced the heart of the statue with the point of a spear—an operation they termed killing their god, in order to eat him. That was the signal for dividing it, four deacons taking from it to the parishes of the four divisions of the city, in order to give communion to the people, which they called *teocualo*, or eating God, and the Totonacas, *toyoliayatlacuatl*, or eating *our life*, and they received it with much devotion, compunction and tears, taking care that not a crumb should fall on the ground, and they had to be fasting, so that on that day they hid the wa-

ter, through the whole country, from the *children, who also communicated.*"¹

In fine, there was another great festival, on which they sacrificed one of their number, by attaching him to a large wooden cross, and piercing him with arrows.²

To what we are to attribute the origin of these customs, whence they were derived, and how far they may have connection with the Christian religion, we shall investigate in the subsequent chapter.

(1) Vide *Sahagun*, vol. 1, Suplemento.

(2) *Hist. Antig. Mex.* Veytia, vol. I., p. 155.

CHAPTER VIII.

PROBABLE SOURCES WHENCE THE TRADITIONS WERE DERIVED. — LORD KINGSBOROUGH'S OPINION. — ADAIR'S OPINION. — PROBABILITY OF ST. THOMAS HAVING PREACHED IN THE COUNTRY. — TRADITIONS TO THIS EFFECT. — THE WHITE MAN WHO ONCE PPEACHED IN THE COUNTRY. — BELIEF IN A WHITE RACE TO COME. — QUETZALCOHUATL IDENTICAL WITH ST. THOMAS.

FROM the instances adduced in the preceding chapter, and others of a like nature, many have been led to conclude that a communication must have existed between the Old and the New World, before the time of Columbus. Others, more imaginative, as Kingsborough, and Adair, have flattered themselves with having found a satisfactory explanation for all the Mexican and Peruvian customs and traditions, by supposing the aborigines descended from the Jews. A third, and by no means the most unreasonable class, would have us account for the difficulty, by referring it to the natural constitution of man, in accordance with which, while seeking to supply a craving of his soul, he may have been led to the adoption of such practices. Although it must be acknowledged that this is not entirely devoid of foundation, for history informs us of peoples on whom it would be difficult to show the light of Christianity had ever been shed, having largely adopted customs and

observances of a similar character;¹ yet, taking all the circumstances and co-incidents into account, and especially the traditions of the peoples themselves, respecting their origin, of which we shall presently speak, the conviction grows strong on the mind, and, indeed, seems to us a most probable opinion, that these doctrines, customs and observances were Christian in their origin. They were, we believe, the result of the teaching of one of the Apostles of our Blessed Redeemer, who, in the discharge of his ministry, visited these shores. The arguments in support of this theory, we shall presently adduce, after laying before the reader the opinions of Catholic writers respecting the probable origin of the ancient Californian traditions and customs.

In the natural and civil history of the country, written by Venegas, to which we have already referred, three opinions are given in explanation of these doctrines and practices. The first is, that the inhabitants were the descendants of a Christian people, among whom the true doctrine and practices of religion had become entirely disfigured and all but extinct. Secondly, that they were learned from the Christians who landed on the coast in the interval between the discovery of the country in 1536 and the arrival of the Fathers in

(1) For the worship of the Cross among the Egyptians, see *Lipsius de Cruce Lutetæ Parisiorum*.—*Humboldt Geographie du Nouveau Continent*. For Penances and Monastic Establishments, see *Huc and Gabet's Travels*.—*Humboldt Vues des Cordilleres*, etc. * * *

1683. And lastly, there are those who attribute their origin to some western mariners who, happening to be thrown on the coast, were necessitated to live in the country.

According to the first, the Californians had migrated from the north and entered the continent by Asia. This, they maintain, is borne out by the traditions of the people themselves; who, as has been remarked, constantly affirmed that they had come from the north and found the country inhabited before them. To the second opinion, which derives the faith and traditions of the people from the presence of Europeans within the interval spoken of, there is the most serious objection, for the natives in all cases uniformly affirmed to the Fathers that these doctrines had been transmitted to them from time immemorial. Nor, indeed, is it at all probable that doctrine of such a nature would come to be commonly adopted in that manner, and so form a part of the traditional belief of the people.

The third, and most plausible, of the assertions, though merely a conjecture like the others, that at a period, now entirely unknown, some Christians, happening to be wrecked on the coast, endeavored to instill into the minds of the natives ideas of the Christian religion, is not entirely undeserving of attention. But, as the reader will observe, it is also like the preceding, open to

doubt, being merely conjectural and entirely unsupported by any common or local tradition.

What we require to determine is, not the time or the manner such doctrines may have been introduced into the country, but whether in reality they were Christian in their origin, and how they came to be accepted by the people. As I have stated, it is my conviction they were the result of the teaching of one of the Apostles of Our Blessed Redeemer.

Reasoning on general grounds, the probabilities are in favor of this. It is more in harmony with our idea of the mercy of God and the end of the Christian religion, to suppose that the means of salvation were offered to all from the beginning rather than after the lapse of several hundred years. Christ's coming upon earth was to be a principle of life to all, without limitation of time or place. No valid satisfactory reason has ever been offered why, for fifteen hundred years, the saving truths of religion should have been withheld from so many millions of the human race. Those who have supported the contrary opinion have done so unwillingly, and more from an unacquaintance with the popular traditions of this country than from any satisfactory reasoning of their own.

The various passages of Scripture, wherein reference is made to the preaching of the gospel, favor the same. The Evangelists, Mathew, Mark and Luke, speak of the announcement of the divine

word to the world at large as a work to be accomplished apparently by the Apostles *propria persona*. To this end, before separating at Jerusalem on their important commission, they divided the world between them. It was not to one nation or race that the work of their ministry obliged them. They had a duty to perform to the illiterate as well as the learned; to the distant as well as the near; to the savage as well as the civilized. The announcement that the Son of God had come on earth as the Redeemer of Mankind had to be made even unto the ends of the earth. And in the division thus made of the world by the Apostles, who will be ready to say that they excluded from the field of their labors the one third of the globe? Did he who commissioned them to preach the gospel "to every creature," leave them ignorant of the existence of this part of the world, or unfurnished with means to arrive on these shores? Had not the poor American savages a share in the scheme of redemption as well as the Greeks and the Romans? Was not their salvation as dear to the Saviour as that of the other inhabitants of the earth?

Again, it is the opinion of some of the most eminent doctors of the Church that the commission of the Saviour to the Apostles, "Go teach all nations," etc., was understood by them in a general, and not a particular sense, as regarded their own immediate ministry. The words of the Saviour on

other occasions certainly favor this. Answering the Apostles touching the question as to when he would restore the kingdom of Israel, he said: "It is not for you to know the time or moment which the Father hath put in his own power. But you shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria, *and even to the uttermost parts of the earth.*"¹ And in St. Luke: "Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer and to rise again from the dead the third day. And that penance and the remission of sins should be preached in his name unto all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. *And you are witnesses of these things.*"² In the latter half of the first quoted passage from the Acts of the Apostles there can be no doubt but Christ is speaking of the Apostles themselves, and not of their successors, when he says, "You shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem and all Judea and Samaria." And then, continuing the prediction, he says, "*and even unto the uttermost parts of the earth.*" So that the same persons that were to be witnesses to him in Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria, were also to be witnesses to him in the most distant parts of the world.

The same is implied in the other quotations. Penance and the remission of sins were to be

(1) *Acts*: chap. 1, v. 7-8.

(2) *St. Luke*: chap. xxiv, v. 46-48.

preached to all the nations of the earth in the name of the Saviour, and the Apostles were to be the witnesses thereof. No doubt their successors in the ministry were also to be witnesses of the truth, but by pre-eminence and in a particular manner were the Apostles to be such, for they, and not any others, had the privilege of witnessing the miracles of the Redeemer, of hearing the doctrine from his lips and of receiving their commission from his hand. They, in consequence, were more admirably suited in their individual capacity for witnessing to the divinity of the Saviour and the truth of his doctrine, the more especially still as they were endowed with the gift of tongues and the power of miracles.

It was not surely of the successors in the ministry, but of the Apostles themselves, that St. Mark wrote when he said: "But they going forth preached *everywhere*, the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed."¹ The word "everywhere," I admit, is not to be taken in its rigorous sense; but how, even morally speaking, the gospel could be said to have been everywhere preached, while the entire of the New World—the two continents of America—were excluded, is, indeed, not easy to be seen.

It is a principle admitted by all in the interpretation of Scripture, that the literal and obvious meaning is to be taken in preference to every

(1) *St. Mark*: chap. xvi., v. 20.

other, unless the tenor of the context or the opposition to other scriptural passages calls for another. But, in the instance before us, so far from this being the case, it is more in accordance with the spirit of religion, more in keeping apparently with the goodness of God, and the general tenor of Scripture.

The passage on which some have founded a contrary opinion is the fourteenth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter of the gospel of St. Mathew: "And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the consummation come."¹ The consummation here spoken of they take to indicate the end of time and the destruction of this world; but St. John Chrysostom, Enthimius and Theophylactus interpret it as only having reference to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, before which time they maintain that the faith was preached *to every nation*.

The Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans and the Colossians also favor our theory. Speaking of the Law of Christ and the necessity for all of submitting to it, the Apostle quotes the words of the Psalmist: "Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world." It is true the Psalmist's words are generally interpreted in a mystical sense, as referring to the celestial powers, but the applications St.

(1) *St. Mathew*: chap. 24, v. 14.

Paul intends to make of them is manifestly in relation to the preaching of the gospel as done by the Apostles. For, in the previous verses, he had said: "For whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? Or how shall they believe him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a preacher? * * * Faith then cometh by hearing: and hearing by the word of Christ. But I say, have they not heard? Yea, verily, their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world." ¹ The reader will here observe that the Apostle is speaking of the Law as in Christ, and the necessity for all without any distinction of embracing the same. And, as if any one might excuse himself on the plea of not having heard it, for faith cometh by hearing, the sacred writer meets the objection by affirming that the world at large had heard of the gospel: "But, I say, have they not heard?" Yea, verily, "their sound (*i. e.* the preaching of the Apostles) hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world." How an Apostle of Christ, a man inspired by God, could solemnly aver that the preaching of the gospel had been made known to the entire human race, that it had reached the ends of the earth, whereas in reality it had not been known

(1) *St. Paul to the Romans* : chap. x., v. 13-18.

beyond the limits of the Old World, is a difficulty we leave for solution to those who deny the preaching of the gospel in this country from the beginning.

Equally strong, if not even more satisfactory still, are the words of the same Apostle addressed to the Colossians: "Yet now he hath reconciled in the body of his flesh through death, to present you holy and unspotted and blameless before him. If so ye continue in the faith grounded and settled and immovable from the hope of the gospel which you have heard, *which is preached in all creation that is under Heaven.*"¹ And to the Romans: "I give thanks to my God through Jesus Christ for you all, because your faith is spoken of *in the whole world.*" Words could not express more emphatically than these the universality of the preaching of the religion of Christ by the Apostles. If they are not to be taken in their literal, obvious sense, some satisfactory reason should be assigned for making the change. But in vain do we look for any such reason, the only assignable pretext being the absence of any historic account, or the difficulty of the Apostles reaching the shores of the Pacific, as if the words of the Evangelists and of the Apostles were only to be taken as expressing a truth when supported by the authority of secular history, or, as if the difficulty of communicating with the distant nations of the earth

(1) *Colossians* : chap. 1, v. 23.

was to be a barrier to the Lord in the communication of his gospel to the whole world !

Judging, then, in accordance with our ideas of the infinite mercy and goodness of God who ordained the Christian religion to be a principle of life and salvation to all, in accordance with the general tenor and apparently obvious meaning of Scripture, expressed as well in the charge of the Saviour to the Apostles, as in the attestation of the Apostles themselves, it seems to us a most reasonable and probable opinion that the Christian religion was preached throughout the whole world, America included, from the earliest times.

The direct evidence bearing upon the subject, also leads us to the same conclusion. In the Mexican hieroglyphical writings, there is recorded an account of a great solar eclipse, and a terrible earthquake, which, as we shall presently show, could be no other than those which occurred at the death of the Redeemer. The occurrences are represented as having taken place at the end of the year, at mid-day, there being then full moon. The entire solar body was completely hidden from view, and the darkness became such that the stars were visible, and the day turned into night. At the same time, a terrible earthquake, such as never was experienced before, shook the entire country, rending large masses of rock in twain, and forming many openings in the land. According to the native historians, these occurrences happened one

hundred and sixty-six years after the correction of their calendar, which would place the event in the year of the world 4066. The chronology of the globe, as is well known, differs exceedingly, as given by different writers. I do not speak of the order, as stated by Berosus, Sanconiathan, Zoroaster, and others of that class; but, even among Christians, the world's chronology varies between three thousand and some hundred years and six thousand and some hundred.¹ That given by Hauberto and Suarez differs very little from the Mexican; so that, without doing any violence to the case, we have, in this agreement of the most eminent Catholic writers, a proof that the eclipse and earthquake noticed in the Mexican symbolical writings, were those which occurred at the death of the Saviour.

Some years after these remarkable occurrences, which, according to the statement of the native historians, would appear to be the sixty-third year of the present era, there came, from the north, a celebrated personage—certainly the most remarkable in the whole of Mexican mythology. He is represented as a *white man*, with flowing beard, of

(1) There are more than one hundred and fifty different opinions regarding the chronology of the world from the creation to the coming of Christ. They vary between 3,616 years and 6,484. The principal are these, according to the Vulgate: Usserius, 4004; Rabbi Nahasson, 3740; Scaliger, 3950; P. Petau, 3984; P. Tormel, 4052; Riccioli, 4184; P. Labbe, 4053. According to the Septuagint: Euselius and the Roman Martyrology, 5200; Vossius, 5590; Riccioli, 3634; The author of the Alphonsian Fables, 6984. (See *Encyclopedie Catholique*, Tome Septieme, p. 672.)

a good stature, clad in a long white robe, adorned with red crosses, barefoot, his head uncovered, and a staff in his hand.¹ He was Quetzalcohuatl, the true signification of which we shall afterwards state. The universal tradition regarding him is, that he was a holy and venerable man—that he taught the people admirable laws—the suppression of their unnatural lusts and desires, the hatred of vice and the love of virtue. To him the popular traditions ascribe the worship paid to the Cross, the continency observed by the Religious, the annual fast of forty days, the practice of confession, and, in a word, all the customs and observances found, on the arrival of the Spaniards, to bear a coincidence with those of the Christian religion. “In the adoration of one only God,” says the author of the *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, “he enlightened those nations in the knowledge of the most adorable Trinity, the coming of the Son of God into the world, his birth from a virgin, and his death upon the cross—whose powerful sign he caused them to reverence, inspiring them with a great hope of obtaining by its means an universal remedy for all their evils.”

It is true that several Catholic writers, even of those who had the best means of forming an accurate judgment, have formed an entirely different opinion of this remarkable personage, setting him down as an imposter, a magician, a necromancer.²

(1) See *Torquemada*.

(2) See *Torquemada*.

And it appears that they had been led into this from the fact that his name is intimately associated with several idolatrous customs and practices, as if, amid so much corruption, it were possible to preserve his doctrine intact. If he were such as these writers represent him to be, there certainly is no satisfactory way of accounting for the doctrine and usages that he is credited with having originated. It is also to be borne in mind, as has been already remarked, that these traditions and religious observances were not confined to any particular locality, but were widely diffused through the whole of that part of the two American continents where his name has been known, and where he is said to have traveled. Thus Father Joaquin Brulio tells us of a remarkable wooden cross in Peru, which had been worshiped by the people from time immemorial, and supposed to have been erected by this venerable man. Speaking of this cross, Father Garcia says, that when Drake, the English commander of whom we have spoken before, arrived on the coast, he endeavored to destroy it, but was unable. Three several times he cast it into the fire, and three times it came forth entirely uninjured by the flames.¹ He then endeavored to break it into pieces, but in this he was

(1) Alegre says that Candish, and not Drake, was the person who attempted to break it. Of the cross, itself, he says, "The cross is said to be of an extremely heavy wood, and different from anything to be found in the province." (See *Historia de la Compania de Jesus Nueva Espana*: Alegre, vol. 1, p. 103.)

alike unsuccessful. It was afterwards translated to the city of Guaxara, by Bishop Cervantes, and was there venerated, by the Christian inhabitants, up to 1836, the latest date of which we have any account. A smaller cross was made from one of the arms, and placed in a chapel of the Discalced Carmelites of the town.

The Right Rev. Dr. Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, having instituted an inquiry into its origin, tells us that the tradition of the inhabitants regarding it was, that it was erected in that place by a venerable white man, with a long beard, flowing white robes, and accompanied by several companions. They further affirmed that he was the man who had instructed their ancestors in those doctrines and practices, which were found to resemble those of the Christian religion; and had commanded, that when a race would arrive in the country, which would venerate that symbol, they should accept their religion. By the Mexican historians it is stated that he himself promised to return with his followers; but this is immaterial, the principal part of the tradition being, that his followers, or descendants, *white men*, would one day come into the country, and reverence the cross. What confirmed the people in the truth of his prediction regarding the coming of the whites, was the prophecy he made regarding the fall of the temple of Chollolan, which, in reality, is stated by the native historians to have occurred eight days after he left; the ruins

of which remained till the time of the Spaniards, as an evidence of the fulfillment of his words.¹ It would further seem certain that he had given as an indication of the immediate arrival of his followers—the occurrence of certain marvelous events—for, on the authority of Prescott, we know, that in consequence of certain remarkable occurrences, which happened shortly before the arrival of Cortes, a wide-spread belief existed through the whole of the Mexican Empire, that the hour had arrived when the followers of Quetzalcohuatl would arrive in the country. “He (Quetzalcohuatl) promised, on his departure, to return at some future day with his posterity, and resume the possession of the empire. That day was looked forward to with hope or with apprehension, according to the interest of the believer, but with general confidence, throughout the wide borders of Anahuac. Even after the Conquest, it still lingered among the Indian races, by whom it was as fondly cherished, as the advent of their king, St. Sebastian, continued to be by the Portuguese, or that of the Messiah by the Jews.”

A general feeling seems to have prevailed in the time of Montezuma, that the period of the return of the Deity, and *full accomplishment* of his promise, was near at hand. This conviction is said to have gained ground from various preternatural occurrences, reported with more or less detail, *by all the*

(1) See Veytia, *Hist. Antiq. Mex.*

*most ancient historians.*¹ In 1510, the great lake of Tezcucó, without the occurrence of a tempest or earthquake, or any other visible cause, became violently agitated, overflowed its banks, and, pouring into the streets of Mexico, swept off many of the buildings by the fury of the waters. In 1511, one of the turrets of the great temple took fire, equally without any apparent cause, and continued to burn, in defiance of all attempts to extinguish it. In the following year, three comets were seen; and, not long before the coming of the Spaniards, a strange light broke forth in the east. It spread broad at its base on the horizon, and, rising in a pyramidal form, tapered off as it approached the zenith. It resembled a vast sheet or flood of fire, emitting sparkles, or, as an old writer expresses it, seemed "thickly powdered with stars." At the same time, low voices were heard in the air, and doleful wailings, as if to announce some strange, mysterious calamity! The Aztec monarch, terrified at the apparitions in the heavens, took counsel of Nezahualpili, who was a great proficient in the subtle science of astrology. But the royal sage cast a deeper cloud over his spirit, by reading in those prodigies the speedy downfall of the empire."²

It is then undeniably certain that a popular tra-

(1) Las Casas, *Hist. de las Indias*, M. S., lib. 3, chap. 120; Camargo, *Hist. de Tlascala*, M. S.; Sahagun, *Hist. de Nueva Espagna*; Acosta, Herrera, etc.

(2) *Hist. Conquest Mex.* Prescott, vol. I, p. 313;

dition existed in the minds of the people, to the effect that a venerable white man once visited the country, taught those doctrines and customs of which we have spoken, and promised one day to return with his followers. It further seems evident, from the local traditions, that this man, whoever he may have been, passed through California, Mexico, Central and a part of Southern America.

Speaking of the traditions of Central America, in the province of Yucatan, Bishop Las Casas assures us that the natives had an idea of the principal mysteries of religion, and that these doctrines had been taught them by the person of whom we are writing. A very intelligent Indian, he says, having been questioned as to the doctrine of the people, answered, that they believed in one God and three persons. To the first, whom they called Igona, was attributed the creation of all things; Bacab, the second, who was the son of Igona, was born of a virgin, *Chibirias, who is now with God in Heaven*; while the third was Echuah. The circumstances connected with the life of the second, are, in their general outline, a counterpart of those as taught by the Church regarding the Redeemer. Respecting the latter part of his life the tradition was to the effect that he was made to suffer exceedingly—was cruelly scourged, crowned with thorns, put to death upon a cross, buried, rose again, and ascended to his father in Heaven. Then came Echuah, to fulfill or accom-

plish all that was to be done. This doctrine, they affirmed, had come down to them from the remotest ages, and had been taught them by men who arrived there, to the number of twenty, the principal of whom was Colalcan, a venerable man, with flowing beard, white robes and sandals, and who taught them to fast and confess, etc.¹ These, and the religious customs and practices of which we have spoken before, such as baptism, penances, mortifications, continency, conventual life, and especially the great feast resembling the Eucharist, are all supposed to have been introduced and established by him.

That these doctrines and practices were not the result of the teaching of an impostor, a magician or necromancer, we can readily believe; for what object could such have in view. But, that such doctrines did exist, is a fact beyond all doubt, resting on the authority of innumerable writers, who, although they may have been deceived regarding the conclusions to be derived, could not be deceived as regarded the traditions themselves. It is then a clear and indisputable fact, that there existed in Central, Southern, and parts of Northern America, as well as in Mexico and California, certain apparently Christian traditions, customs and practices, universally believed to have come down from the earliest ages, and to have been introduced

(1) Veytia, *Hist. Antig. Mex.*

by him who was known as Quetzalcohuatl, a white man, who, as we have shown, came into the country in the year 63 of our era.¹

Again, on the arrival of the Dominican Fathers in Mexico, immediately after the conquest by Cortes, they found with a chief in the province of Zapotecas a symbolical writing, said to have been handed down from time immemorial, in which we are assured were contained the doctrines of the Christian religion.² Father Garcia, a Franciscan, on whose authority the above has been given, further assures us that when a member of his order happened to pass through the village of Nijapa, in the province of Huaxaca, the Vicar of the Convent, who was a Dominican, showed him some ancient hieroglyphical writings containing all the principal doctrines of the Christian religion and the *coming of the Apostle to the country*.

Taking, then, into account all the customs, traditions and practices of the people, it seems to us a most reasonable and probable opinion that the

(1) "Es constante y uniforme la noticia que se halla en todas estas gentes, de que el fue quien les enseñó el ayuno de cuarenta dias, que debian observar annualmente, la mortificacion y penitencia, disciplinándose las espaldas, brazos y pantorillas con abropos y espinas, hasta deremar sangre. Les exhorto a dar limosnas, y scorrer las necesidades de los progenies, haciendoles entender che no solo debian hacerlo por acto de humanidad sino de religion, por amor de Dios y en su obsequio sin excepcion de personas; y en esta materia era particular una fiesta che celebraban los Mejicanos en el mes Hueytecuilhuitl en honor de una de sus deidades llamada Xilomen diosa del maiz tierno." *Veytia*, p. 175.

(2) "Hallaron en un lugar llamado Quichopa en poder de un casique una *Biblia* de solas figuras que eran los caracteres que les servian de letras cuija significacion sabian porque de padres a hijos se iban enseñando el modo de entender aquellas figuras y este libro le guardaban de tiempo muy antiguo": *Veytia*, p. 174.

Christian religion was preached in this country long before the days of Columbus.

What is now incumbent upon us is to show that the person, Quetzalcohuatl, who is said to have been the originator of all the doctrines and customs alluded to, was none other than the Apostle St. Thomas. For the truth of our assertion we rely in the first instance on the true signification of the name. In the Mexican and Peruvian annals the names of all celebrated persons, it is well to remember, were allegorical. Although at the moment of baptism a name was given to the child, it not unfrequently happened that another was conferred during life on account of some remarkable deeds or specialty of character. Hence the appellations by which the kings of Texcoco and others were styled.

The literal signification of the word Quetzalcohuatl is a "*peafowl-serpent*," or, less literally, a feathered serpent. Metaphorically it meant, as we shall show, a precious twin. It is composed of two words, Quetzallin, a peafowl, and Cohuatl, a serpent. The former was also used to express any kind of excellent plumage, the peafowl's being the most esteemed and most in use to adorn the head; and, as we know, the serpent has ever been regarded by all as the symbol of wisdom. Hence both words, used allegorically as a single appellative, came to express the mental endowment, wisdom, learning and respect of any individual; so that to

say he was a richly plumed serpent was equivalent to saying he was a man of talent, much esteemed and learned.

Luis Becerro Tanco, in his work on the apparition of our Lady of Guadalupe, tells us that the word Quetzalcohuatl expresses exactly the Apostle's name, it being a true translation of it. In the Nahuatl dialect "*Cohuatl*," which signified a serpent, signified allegorically a twin, from the supposition that a serpent always brings forth two at a birth. Dr. Siguenza, in a most learned work, which unhappily has been lost, supports this opinion, and proved, it is said, most satisfactorily, that Quetzalcohuatl was St. Thomas, but as this work is not now in existence, we must only rely on the strength of our own proof for the establishment of the case. From the gospel we know that St. Thomas was called Didymus, or the twin. The Indians, in translating the word, would naturally have followed the rule adopted toward all remarkable men, by giving it an allegorical rendering, adding as a mark of respect for his person, Quetzallin, which, when added to Cohuatl, signified, allegorically: "The very learned or much esteemed twin." That Cohuatl, or twin, was really the name that they gave to him, and that the other was only an epithet of veneration is clear, from the fact that all his disciples forming those monastic establishments of which we have spoken as existing in the country on the arrival of the Spaniards, went by

the name of Cocomes, or twins, which is the plural of Cohuatl.

It is also a very remarkable fact, which we learn upon the authority of Father Kirker, in his *China Illustrated*, and which is spoken of by Lurena in his life of St. Francis, and by Garcia in his work on the preaching of the gospel, that on the tomb of the Apostle at Meliapor, in the Indies, a peafowl was represented holding the cross in its beak, hereby connecting very significantly the name of the Apostle with the Quetzallin, or peafowl, of which we have spoken. It has also been positively asserted by Calanche and Obalde that, in several of the Mexican phonetic writings, the true name of St. Thomas has been preserved.

CHAPTER IX.

LEADING FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF QUETZALCOHUATL.—
 WHAT HE TAUGHT.—HOW BANISHED.—HIS PROPHECY.—PROMISING TO RETURN.—A WHITE PEOPLE TO COME.—PHENOMENA PRIOR TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE SPANIARDS.—SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT IN FAVOR OF ST. THOMAS.—HIS PROBABLE PLACE OF LANDING.—HOW THE DOCTRINE MAY HAVE BEEN CORRUPTED.—MEANS BY WHICH THE APOSTLE MIGHT HAVE ARRIVED IN THE COUNTRY.—AMERICA KNOWN TO EUROPEANS BEFORE CHRISTIANITY.—QUOTATIONS FROM HANNO, PLATO, ARISTOTLE, PLUTARCH AND SENECA.

INDEPENDENT of what has been said in the preceding chapter, there is still further evidence of a similar character leading to the same conclusion. The great similarity between the general character of Quetzalcohuatl as represented in Mexican mythology and that of an Apostle, is certainly very remarkable. It would be idle for any one to attempt to deny the existence of those popular traditions, which represent this beneficent man as visiting the country and coming from the west, in company with several disciples, for the purpose of teaching the people.¹ Although known under different names in different parts of the continent, the general character is so clearly defined that the identity of the man can in no sense be a subject of mistake. Hence, it is universally acknowledged that Quetzalcohuatl of Mexico, Cozas or Cocalcan

(1) Vide Sahagun, Mier, Prescott, etc.

of Yucatan, and Viracocho of Peru, are one and the same person.

The prominent facts connected with his history, as handed down from time immemorial, are exactly what we would expect to meet with in the life of an Apostle. According to the popular tradition he was for some time high priest of Tula, or Tollan, a town situated to the north of the Mexican Valley, and once the capital of the Empire of the Toltecs. Hence we are told he sent forth his disciples through all the neighboring provinces to preach a new and admirable law, the leading points of which seem to have been the prohibition of the worship of idols and human sacrifices, the knowledge of the triune divinity or triple godhead Tzentcotl, Huitzlopochtli and Touacayohua, penance, fasts, etc.

Having been persecuted by Huemac, king of that place, who had apostatized from his religion and put several of his disciples to death, he fled to Cholula, whither being pursued by the implacable monarch, he passed on to Yucatan, where he left four of his disciples to propagate his religion, proceeding himself to the islands in the vicinity, which, from that time, have been known by the name of the place where the "Twin hid himself." After a period he returned to Tollan, but finding his followers mixed up with the people, having intermarried in the meantime with the other inhabitants of the land, he set out for Huehuetlapallan,

prophecy before leaving that his brothers in religion, white men, would one day come into the country to rule over the people and teach them religion. That this prophecy was widely spread through the country and firmly believed in by the inhabitants, there cannot be a shadow of doubt. Not only modern, but ancient writers attest its existence. Sahagun, who wrote at the period of the conquest, speaks of it, and assures us that on the arrival of the Spaniards on the coast the natives proceeded in canoes to the ships, and offered adoration to them, believing that the god Quetzalcohuatl, with his followers, had returned, and that the fulfillment of the prophecy was accomplished. The words of the historian are these: "They entered immediately into canoes and commenced to row toward the vessels, and, as they arrived near the ships and saw the Spaniards they kissed the prows of their vessels as a sign of adoration, thinking that it was the god Quetzalcohuatl, who had returned, whom they were expecting, as appears in the history of that god."¹ And in the following chapter he says: "As Montezuma heard the news he despatched persons to receive Quetzalcohuatl, for he thought it was he who had come, for they were daily expecting him (*cada dia le estaban esperando*). And as it was known that Quetzalcohuatl had departed toward the east, and that the vessels had also come from the east, for this reason they thought it was he."²

(1) *Historia de a Conquista de Mexico*: vol. 1, chap. 2.

(2) *Ibid*, chap. iii.

It is then undeniably true, that a popular tradition existed in the country, respecting a prophecy, made by Quetzalcohuatl, in which was foretold the future arrival of whites on the coast; and this, while it proves the reality of the man, and his character as a teacher of religion, also proves the still more important and appreciable fact of his being a Christian, and of western origin; for, it was clearly set forth in the prophecy, that the persons who should come would be whites, and of the same religion as he. The time also seems to have been specified by the Apostle, if we are to judge from the expression that they were expecting him every day. And, indeed, Boturini assures us, that the time mentioned in the Mexican hieroglyphics, was that in which the Christians arrived. The year *ce acatl* was that foretold by Quetzalcohuatl, and in that year the Spaniards landed in the country.

But what seemed to impress them especially with the belief of his immediate arrival, were the remarkable phenomena which occurred at this time, and of which we have spoken before. They were eight in all: the first, which occurred ten years previous to the Christians' arrival, being a frightful, appalling flame, or pillar of fire, that seemed to reach from earth to heaven, and turned night into day. It used to appear in the east, always after the hour of midnight, and continued until morning, appearing regularly in the same

way every night, for the space of an entire year. The whole population was exceedingly terrified, and believed that it portended some terrible calamity. The second, was the unaccountable burning of the great tower of the temple of the god Huitzilipochetli, the flames seeming to proceed from the very centre of the columns. Then there was the sudden overflow of the lake, without any assignable cause, there being neither storm nor earthquake; and, more alarming still, there was an unearthly, doleful voice, crying in the air, and saying, "Oh, my children, we are lost! where now shall I take thee!"

It would be, then, for those who deny the Christian character of this man, to account in some satisfactory way for these remarkable occurrences. It is not in accordance with reason or religion, to suppose that the Almighty would have made use of a Pagan impostor, to foretell the introduction of His religion into this country. On the other hand, Paganism is tolerant of its own; it does not persecute its ministers of religion; there is nothing in its system to contradict the natural desires. Neither do Pagans go forth in the character of apostles, to teach men most admirable laws, to inculcate veneration to the symbol of the Christian religion, to enforce the advantages and necessity of fasts, penances, baptism and confession. But, least of all, do Pagans show forth in their lives, and enforce, both by word and

example, the most admirable lessons of continency, such as this man is accredited with having observed.

To sum up, then, all that has been said in the foregoing, our argument may be thus briefly stated:

On the arrival of the Spaniards in America, certain customs, practices and traditions, were found to prevail, which, on any other hypothesis than that of the previous introduction of Christianity into the country, cannot be satisfactorily explained. They had nothing in common with Paganism; they were not in whole or in part in harmony with it. In the Gentile mythology, they were certainly out of their place. The worship of the Cross, the administration of baptism, confession and communion, though very much altered and disfigured, are yet easily recognized as being essentially Christian, and not Pagan. So, also, the belief in the unity and trinity of God, the incarnation, death and resurrection of Christ, which, as we have shown, appears to have been held, at least, by some of the people. But, all these customs, practices, and ideas of religion, the popular traditions of the country, as embodied in the Mexican hieroglyphics, and the Peruvian Quipos, attribute to the venerable white man, Quetzalcohuatl, who, as was proved, visited the country in the year of our Lord 63, and whose name has been shown to be identical with that of the Apostle

St. Thomas. When to this we add the positive statement of Scripture, regarding the preaching of the gospel in, apparently, every part of the world, during the first age of the Christian religion, and the absence, on the other hand, of all satisfactory reason to the contrary, the reader, we feel certain, will be ready to admit, that the presence of the Apostle St. Thomas in this country rests on the most reasonable and probable grounds. It commends itself, too, to our acceptance the more, when we remember the field of the Apostle's missionary career in the East, he having, as it is thought, visited the Island of Sumatra¹ and the Philippines,² the direct route, which, if pursued, would have brought him to the shores of the Pacific.

The part of the coast where he landed seems to have been some point in Lower California. The reason for our arriving at such a conclusion must be obvious to the reader, for there, and not in Upper California, as we have seen, were Christian traditions encountered among the natives. The same was the opinion of the learned Dr. Mier, for, speaking of the Saint's arrival, he says: "Hence (namely from the west) he came according to his history, entering by California, although Torquemada says that he arrived at Tula, or Tollan, having disembarked at Panuco, some say, with fourteen, and others, with seven disciples, clad in long

(1) See Butler's *Lives of the Saints*.

(2) Veytia; *Historia Antiq. de Mejico*.

garments reaching to the feet, with tunic and Jewish mantles similar to those of the Indians, which they are accustomed to wear in their feasts. They had not with them any women, nor had Quetzalcohuatl ever any, for he was most continent. This was the great priest of Tula, and thence he sent forth his disciples to preach in Huaxyacac and other provinces, a new and holy law. He demolished the idols, prohibited the sacrifices which were not of bread, flowers and incense, abhorred war, taught penance, the fast of forty or seventy days, etc.”¹

But objection may be taken to the foregoing by inquiring how, if the true doctrine of Christ were preached in the country, it could have eventually become so exceedingly altered and disfigured as to be hardly recognizable on the arrival of the Spaniards. To my mind the question presents no serious objection. Nothing is more natural than that a people, separated for fifteen hundred years from all communication with the countries of Europe—from all communication with the centre of Catholic unity—the living fountain of truth—should, from passion, prejudice, ignorance or persecution, or all together, have fallen into serious mistakes respecting the truth. Nor were these the only reasons which might have succeeded in producing so unhappy a result. They were further deprived of that great and invaluable means of preserving

(1) Vide Mier, Apud, Sahagun.

intact, the teaching of the Apostle, I mean the written use of language or phonetic writing, without which, unless by divine interposition, it would be almost impossible for any body of doctrine to be securely preserved for several centuries. When everything has to be learned from memory and handed down without books, through a long series of years, for several ages, all that we can reasonably expect in the end is the general outline or more prominent features of the religion as first preached to the people.

Even in Europe and Asia, where so many facilities have existed for preserving the truth in all its original purity; where recourse was so easily had to the Sovereign Pontiff; where so much learning and ability existed among all orders of the clergy; where so many councils, diocesan, provincial, national and general, have been holden for the purpose; where the very doctrine itself was carefully committed to writing and embodied in the Scriptures, in the writing of the Fathers and the Liturgies of the Church, yet how many errors, how many corruptions, how many false systems have there not originated? Not a single century has passed from the beginning that novelties have not been broached, that new systems have not been attempted, that the original faith has not in some things been impugned. In the first century there were the Ebionites, the Corinthians, the Nicholites; in the second, the Marcionites, the Valentinians,

the Basilidians, and so on down to the present. And in the change effected by many of these self-constituted Apostles, the alterations have, in several instances, been such that with difficulty we can recognize their adherents as the descendants of those who once held Catholic doctrine. Who, for instance, unless acquainted with the fact by the positive testimony of history, would believe that the Mormons, the Unitarians, the Quakers, were the children of those who believed in the divinity of Christ, the efficacy of the Sacraments, and the divine mission of the Catholic Church. What is there in Methodism, Calvinism, or Dunkerism, similar to Catholic doctrine? And yet all these, and hundreds of others, are indubitably descendants of those who, only three hundred years from the present, professed Catholic faith in all its entirety—that is to say, children of those men who believed in and frequented the Sacraments of the Church, prayed to the Saints, acknowledged and adhered to the teaching of Rome, and died in that faith.

If, then, in our own countries, in our own midst, under our own eyes, instances of this nature have occurred, wherein men have departed so widely from the original doctrine, are we to be astonished that under less favorable circumstances the truth should have been clouded, disfigured and largely corrupted. In the fifteen hundred years that elapsed from the arrival of the Apostle till the

landing of the Spaniards, what else but error, corruption and change could be expected. Ignorant and uncivilized races could not be expected to do more than preserve a general, indefinite idea of the faith. The Church, in all probability, was never securely established in the land. Persecution, if we may judge from the traditions, fell heavily upon it from the beginning. The Saint was early driven from the field of his labor. Deprived of the advantages of his presence, the people naturally fell back into a partial idolatry, preserving withal an idea of the chief doctrines of religion. Indeed, this is the very account that tradition furnishes us of the matter, for, as we have seen, Quetzalcohuatl, after having been banished, returned after a time to visit the people of Tula, and finding his followers there mixed up with the other inhabitants of the land, he abandoned the place, prophesying that his brethren would afterwards come into the country to rule over the inhabitants, and teach them religion. A couple or more generations would accordingly have sufficed in this way to blend up and confound the Christian and Pagan religion, so that at the end of one or two hundred years it would be difficult, yea, almost impossible, to distinguish in the medley the doctrine of Christ from that of the Pagans.

It may be that the reign of truth was of much longer duration than this, but the result in the end, under the circumstances, could be hardly ex-

pected to be other. Nay, it seems almost unaccountable, how a people, situated as the ancient inhabitants of this country, separated so completely from the fountain of truth; exposed so much on every side, to the pernicious influences of a corrupting idolatry; deprived of the use of a phonetic writing, wherein, to record the dogmas of their faith—not to speak of the numerous other disadvantages of a kindred character, under which they were laboring for so many centuries, and all operating in a similar direction, tending to like corrupting results—it is almost unaccountable, I say, how, under such unfavorable circumstances, they preserved so clear and well defined ideas of the Christian religion.

But, some one might ask, how was it possible for the Apostle to arrive on these shores, inasmuch as there was no communication between this country and Europe in those days. This is equally as illogical as the former is unreasonable. The preaching of the gospel in America, need not necessarily have depended on a communication between the old and the new world. He who commissioned his Apostles to preach to every creature could easily, had he desired it, have miraculously transported them to the most distant parts of the globe. Are we to suppose that distance of place, or want of free communication with races, was to be a barrier to the Lord, in the communication of

his will to his creatures? Do not the Sacred Scriptures furnish us with one instance, at least, of an Apostle being miraculously translated through the air, the distance of two hundred and seventy stadii, from Jerusalem to Azotus? "And when they were come up out of the water, the Spirit of the Lord took away Philip, and the Eunuch saw him no more, and he went on his way rejoicing. But Philip was found in Azotus; and, passing through, he preached the gospel to all the cities, till he came to Cesarea."¹

* It is the universal tradition of the Church, that all the Apostles were present at the death of the Mother of God, nor is it pretended that their assembling was other than miraculous.² To command the Apostles to preach the gospel throughout the entire world, and not to furnish them with the means of reaching the most distant parts, would be to enjoin an impossibility. He who gave the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles, would not surely withhold the means of transport.

But it is not true that a communication did not exist between this country and the old world before the fifteenth century. Marco Polo is stated to have spoken of a commerce existing between

(1) *Acts: chap. viii, v. 39-40.*

(2) "Ex antiqua accepimus traditione, quod tempore gloriosæ dormitionis beatæ virginis, universi quidem sancti Apostoli qui orbem terræ ad salutem Gentium peragrabant, *momento temporis in subline elati convenerunt Jerosolomis.*" (De Sermone S. Joannis Damasceni, Apud *Breviarium Romanum.*)

southern India and this part of the world. An author cited by Dr. Mier, brings proof of a communication having existed between Mexico and China, in the fifth century; and the early Jesuit Fathers saw, on one occasion, a number of what seemed to them Chinese junks on the coast; a fact which would lead one to conclude, that the knowledge of America was not unknown to that people. But, even long before Christianity, it was known to Europeans. Hanno, the celebrated navigator, who lived about eight hundred years B. C., was probably the first who visited its shores. In a work called *The Periplus*, he speaks of a land, which those who have examined the writing, assure us, can mean only the continent of America, or some one of the neighboring islands. That on which the authors rest their conclusion, is the assertion of the navigator himself, who avers, that after having passed the pillars of Hercules, and having left the African coast, he sailed directly to the west, for the space of thirty days, when he met with land, which, from the direction he took, and the time he was out, must either have been the continent itself, or, as I have said, some of the islands in the immediate vicinity.

Four hundred years later, the Greek philosopher, Plato, speaks of the same in still more unmistakable terms. After alluding to the destruction of that imaginary land, the Atlantis, he says: "There existed an island at the mouth of the sea, beyond

the straits, called the Pillars of Hercules; this island was larger and wider than Libya and Asia; from thence there was an easy passage unto the other islands, and from the latter *unto the continent beyond those regions.*" This is further strengthened and supported by the testimony of Aristotle, Plutarch and Strabo. The former gives it as the common belief of his time, that such a land did exist. "It is said," writes the philosopher, "that the Carthagenians have discovered, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, a very fertile island—but which is without inhabitants—yet *full of forests, of navigable rivers*, and abounding in fruits. It is situated many days voyage from the main land. Some of the Carthagenians, charmed with the fertility of that country, conceived the idea of getting married, and of going and establishing themselves there; but it is said that the Carthagenian Government forbade any one to attempt to colonize the island, under penalty of death; for, in case it were to become powerful, it might deprive the mother country of *her possessions there.*" The land here spoken of, with its forests, its navigable rivers, its fertility, and distance from the main land, can hardly be mistaken for the American continent.

About the same time, or perhaps a little later in the days of Alexander the Great, Theopompus, another great writer and orator, in a work called *Thaumasias*, a species of dialogue between a certain

Midas, a Phrygian, and Silenus, speaks of the same remarkable land. The work has been unhappily lost, but it is quoted by Strabo and Alianus, by whom we are told that Theopompus, in the character of Midas, informs his friend that Europe, Asia and Africa are islands, but that further on there is a still greater land, where the animals and productions are of prodigious size, where men are of gigantic stature, and where there were numerous cities, one of which he affirms contained at that time more than a million of inhabitants. Where or from whom the writer obtained his information there is now no means of determining, but that the land he referred to was America, there cannot be a reasonable doubt.

The next writer, who speaks of the country, is Diodorus, the Sicilian, or Siculus, as he is more commonly known, and who lived about one hundred years before Christ. His language is even plainer and more satisfactory than the foregoing: "After having passed the islands, which lie beyond the Herculean Straits, we will speak of those which lie much further into the ocean. Toward Africa, and to the west of it, is an immense island in the broad sea, many days sail from Libya. Its soil is very fertile and its surface variegated with mountains and valleys. Its coasts are indented with many navigable rivers, and its fields are well cultivated, and dotted with delicious gardens and with plants and trees of all sizes." Who is there

that does not recognize in this the America of former days, with its fertile soil, variegated surface, great navigable rivers, and diversity of trees?

Later still, about the beginning of the present era, we find the great rhetorician, Seneca, alluding to it in the following words of one of his tragedies:

Venient annis
Sæcula seris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet et * * *
Pateat tellus, Typhisque novos
Detegat orbes ; nec sit terris
Ultima Thule.

—*Medea* : Act. 3, v. 375.

When to this we add the allusions of the great Greek and Latin Poets—Homer and Horace—regarding the situation of the famous Atlantides, where were supposed to be the Elysian plains, some ten thousand stadii, or furlongs, from Africa, there can be very little doubt, but that the continent of America was known to Europeans even before the establishment of the Christian religion. That it was also visited by Europeans after the coming of Christ, but some hundreds of years before the days of Columbus, we shall show in the following chapter.

CHAPTER X.

SECOND SOURCE WHENCE THE CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS OF CALIFORNIA MIGHT HAVE BEEN DERIVED.—THE IRISH IN ICELAND PREVIOUS TO ITS DISCOVERY BY THE NORTHMEN.—TESTIMONY OF AN IRISH MONK AND OF ICELANDIC HISTORIANS TO THIS EFFECT.—THE IRISH IN AMERICA PRIOR TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.—PROOFS FROM ICELANDIC MANUSCRIPTS.—ST. BRANDON'S VOYAGE TO AMERICA.—EUROPEAN TRADITIONS REGARDING THE VOYAGE.

ALTHOUGH the presence of St. Thomas the Apostle in the country, as shown in the preceding chapter, seems to us the genuine source whence were derived the manifestly Christian traditions and practices of which we have spoken, there is yet another channel through which they might have been obtained. Christianity was introduced into America by the Irish, on the Atlantic border, at or before the tenth century. This is established from ancient Icelandic historic writings. The route by which they entered the country seems to have been by the Faroe Isles and Iceland, while others, as the quotations to be adduced will show, proceeded direct across the Atlantic.

In the *Antiquitates Americanae*, an elaborate work published in 1837 at Copenhagen under the direction of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarians, the following passage from the second vellum codex of the history of King Olaf Tryggvason, attests the presence of the Irish in Iceland previous

to the discovery of that island by the Northmen: "But before Iceland was colonized from Norway, men had been there, whom the Northmen called Papas. They were Christians, for after them were found Irish books, bells, croziers, and many other things, whence it could be seen that they were Christians and had come from the west over the sea." ¹ As Iceland was discovered by the Northmen early in the second half of the ninth century, the Irish must have been there previous to that date. In another Icelandic work, the *Shedæ* of Ari Frode, surnamed the Learned, the same positive evidence is found attesting the presence of the Irish in Iceland at that early period: "At that time, viz: before the coming of the Northmen, Iceland was covered with woods between the mountains and the sea. There were then Christian people here whom the Northmen called Papas, but they subsequently departed, for they would not be here among heathens: they left after them Irish books, bells and croziers from which it could be seen that they were Irishmen." ² And in the Prologue to the *Landnamabock*, the most accurate and reliable ancient Icelandic history, similar testimony, in almost the very identical words, is also given. ³

(1) See *Icelandic Original* at end of chap. *Antiquitates Americane*, p. 203. *Discovery of America by the Northmen*: Ludlow Beamish, Fellow of the Royal Society of Northmen.

(2) See original at end of chap.

(3) Vide *Antiquitates Americane*.

To the foregoing, it may be objected that no account of such a colonization is to be found in the pages of Irish history. This, the reader will observe, is but, at best, only a negative argument, and of very little weight in presence of the positive evidence adduced. The most important and brilliant period of Irish history, remains unsupported by any authentic manuscript writings; the *Psalter of Cashel*, written in the ninth century, being the oldest of the kind. But it is not true, that all Irish history is silent on this point. In the Imperial Library, in Paris, there is a Latin manuscript treatise entitled "*Liber de Mensura orbis terræ*," written in 775, by the Irish monk Dicuil, Abbot of Pahlarcht, in which he tells us, he had spoken with some Irish ecclesiastics, who had been in Thule, with which he evidently associates Iceland. "It is now thirty years since certain Religious, who lived in the Island of Thule from the kalends of February to the kalends of August, related to me, that not only in the summer solstice, but in the immediate days thereof, the sun set as if behind a hillock, so that for the shortest space of time there was no darkness, and one could perform a work requiring the minutest observation, "*vel pediculosus de camisia abstrahere tanquam in presentia solis potest!*" And if one were on the mountain's top, perhaps the sun would not become invisible at all. * * * Besides, those were deceived, who represented it as sur-

rounded by a frozen ocean, and as enjoying perpetual day from the vernal to the autumnal equinox, and *vice versa*, continued night from the autumnal to the vernal; inasmuch as the Religious arrived in the winter season, and, during their sojourn, experienced both day and night alternately." There is no one who can fail to recognize, in the foregoing, the island of which we are speaking. Iceland, alone, would answer to the description given by the writer, as enjoying an almost perpetual day for one half of the year; and, again, laboring under the disadvantages of almost perpetual night for the other half. He then goes on to speak of the Faroe Isles, leaving it still more clearly to be understood, that he had first spoken of Iceland. "There are many other islands in the North Atlantic Ocean, which, from the Shetlands, may be easily reached, with a fair wind, in a couple of days. A certain Religious assured me, that in two days and a night, he reached one of them, in a four-oared boat. Some of these islands, which are small—almost all being separated by narrow straits—were inhabited, about one hundred years ago, by hermits, from Ireland. But, as from the beginning of the world, they had been uninhabited, so also now, on account of the Norman brigands, are they deserted by the anchorites; but they are stocked with large herds of sheep, and a great variety of marine birds. We have

never found these islands mentioned by any author.”¹

From this, it must appear evident to the reader, that the Irish inhabited Iceland, previous to its discovery by the Northmen, in the ninth century; for, as has been remarked, Diculus wrote in the year 775. Whence they proceeded, on being banished the island, we may reasonably conjecture, from the historical evidence to be adduced.

In the Iceland historic work—the *Landnámabók*; to which reference has been already made, an account is given of an Icelandic chief, Ari Marson, who, in the year of our Lord, 982, while voyaging at sea, was driven from his course and wrecked on a land which will be subsequently shown to have been the Atlantic coast of North America, where he encountered some Irish, and received baptism at their hands. The passage, as translated from the Are-Magnean collection of Icelandic manuscript histories, preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, runs thus: “Ulf, the squinter, son of Högni, the white, took all Reykjanes between Tharkafjard and Hafrafel; he married Bjorg, daughter of Eyvind, the eastman, sister of Helge, the lean; their son was Atili, the red, who married Tharkalta, daughter of Herjil Neprass; their son was Ari, he was driven by a tempest to White Man’s Land, which some call

(1) The book of *Diculus de mensura orbis terræ*, from the two codex manuscripts of the Imperial Library, at Paris, edited, for the first time, by C. A. Walckmaer, Paris, 1807.

Great Ireland. It lies to the west in the sea, near to Vinland the Good, and six days sailing to the west from Ireland.¹ Thence Ari was unable to get away, and *was there baptized*. This account was given by Rafn, the Limerick merchant, who had lived a long time at Limerick, in Ireland. Thus, also, said Tharkell Gellerson, that Icelanders had stated, who had heard Thorfinn Jarl of the Orkneys relate that Ari was recognized in White Man's Land, and could not get away from thence, but was much respected."

It is now incumbent, before proceeding further in the argument, to show that White Man's Land, where Ari Marson was wrecked and baptized was a part of the Atlantic border of North America. The geographical position given it in the passage, near to Vinland the Good, which all the most eminent northern antiquarians, as Rask, Rafn, Beamish, Pinkerton, and a host of others, recognize as the present State of Massachusetts, may be offered in the first place in evidence. But more satisfactory still, as excluding all reasonable doubt, is the unequivocal testimony of the Icelandic geographer. In the manuscript, codex B. 770 c. 8vo., the following geographical fragment regarding the position of Great Ireland is thus given: "Now, there are, as is said, south from Greenland, which

(1) *Antiquitates Americanæ*, p. 21—"The six days here spoken of, it must be admitted, present a difficulty, but it is thought by the most eminent men to have been an error on the part of the copyist, for the original manuscript no longer exists. Rafn supposes that it was originally written xxxvi, and not vi."

is inhabited, deserts, uninhabited places, and icebergs, then the lands of the Skrelings, then Markland, then Vinland the Good; next, and somewhat behind, lies Albania *Huitramanaland*, which is *White Man's Land*. *Thither was sailing formerly from Ireland; there Irishmen and Icelanders recognised Ari, the son of Mar and Ratla of Reykjanes, of whom nothing had been heard for a long time, and who had been made a chief there by the inhabitants.*" ¹

The position thus accorded to White Man's Land, or Great Ireland, whence there was communication formerly with Ireland, cannot, by any possibility, be made to refer to any other than that part of the Atlantic coast between New York and Florida; for, to the south of Greenland there is no other land than the American continent, while the very appositeness of the names given to the different parts of the coast leave no manner of doubt as to the precise locality thereof. Thus, the inhabitable places and icebergs mentioned in the first part of the description as occurring immediately on leaving Greenland, are a faithful representation of that part of the American coast in the immediate vicinity of Davis' Straits and Hudson's Bay. The land of the Skrelings, or Helluland—Flat Stone Land—as it is also called in other Icelandic manuscripts, as we shall presently see, is likewise a most appropriate name for the country of the

(1) *Antig. Amer.*, p. 215.

Esquimaux along the Labrador coast, the land there being entirely barren, and covered with enormous stones, as we learn from the works of travelers.¹ Markland, or Woodland, which is placed next in order, and is understood as representing the Nova Scotia coast, is thus described in the *Columbian Navigator*: "The land about the harbor of Halifax, and a little to the southward of it, is in appearance rugged and rocky and has on it in several places *scrubby withered woods*. Although it seems bold, yet it is not high." And a writer in the *North American Pilot*, published in London, in 1815, represents it as low, barren, sandy, and woody: "Near Port Hallimand are several barren places; and thence to Cape Sable, which makes the southwest point into Barrington's Bay, is a low *woody island*, at the southeast extremity of a range of sandy cliffs."² The foregoing is corroborated and confirmed by the account given in the celebrated Flatobogen codex of the voyages of Leif Erickson, Thorwald, Thorfinn, and Karlsefne, as also by numerous geographical notices, some of which we shall introduce to the notice of the reader. In 994, Leif Erickson, son of Erick the Red, set out on an expedition from Greenland, in order to visit the land we have been describing,

(1) This vast tract of land is extremely barren, and altogether incapable of cultivation. The surface is everywhere uneven, and covered with large stones, some of which are of amazing dimensions. There is no such thing as level land. (*Particulars of Labrador*. Phil. Transac., vol. L., c. xiv.)

(2) See Beamish *Hist. Northmen*.

which had been visited a few years previous by his countryman Bjorni Herjulfson. "Erick went home to Brathahild, but Leif repaired to the ship with thirty-five men. There was a southern man, Tyrker Hight, in the company.¹ After preparing the vessel, they sailed into the open sea, and found that land first which Bjarni had found last. After casting anchor, they put off boats and went ashore, but could see no grass. The mountains were covered with enormous masses of icebergs, while the country from the sea thereto appeared as if a plain of *flat stones*, and devoid of every good quality. Leif then spoke and said: "It has not happened to us as it did to Bjarni that we have not landed. Now, I will give it a name, and call it *Helluland*. They then returned to the vessel, and after sailing for some time, came to another land, where they cast anchor and went ashore. This land was *flat and covered with wood*. Then said Leif, it shall be called after its qualities, and he named it *Markland* (Woodland).

They next immediately returned to the ship, and sailed into the open sea, with a northeast wind, and were two days before they saw land; whither on proceeding, they came to an island which lay to the eastward of the coast. There they went ashore, and observed that there was dew upon the grass; and it so happened that they touched the dew with their hands, and having applied their fingers

(1) This man was supposed to be a German.

to their mouths, they thought they had never before tasted anything so sweet. After that, they returned to the ship,¹ and sailed into a sound which lay between the island and a ness, which ran out to the eastward of the land, and then steered westward past the ness. It was *very shallow at ebb tide*, so that their ship was unable to advance.² But, so much did they desire to land, that they did not give themselves time to wait till the water rose under their ship, but ran at once on shore," etc. The narrative then goes on to state how they put up there for the winter, and how having found vines, they called the place Vinland. "And, when the spring came, they got ready and sailed away, and Lief gave the land a name after its qualities, and called it *Vinland*."³

The above discovery was made in 994, from which time till the expedition of Thorfinn Karlsefne in 1007 it was visited respectively by Thorwald in 1002, and by Thorstein Erickson in 1005. The description given of it by Karlsefne is identical with that of Leif Erickson: "In Brathahild there was much talk about exploring Vinland

(1) This appears to have been Nantucket Island, where honey-dew is known to exist. (*Vide* communication of Dr. Webb to Rhode Island Society.)

(2) This is a most correct description of the passage between Cape Cod and Rhode Island. "The eastern entrance," says the *Columbian Navigator*, "is impeded by numerous reefs and other shoals, as likewise the central and western parts, and the whole presents an aspect of drowned lands, which, there can be little doubt, were at some period anterior to history connected with the mainland." (*Vide Antiq. Amer.*, p. 425. Ludlow Beamish.)

(3) *Antiquitates Americanæ*.

the good, for it was said that a voyage thither would be particularly advantageous by reason of the fertility of the land; and it went so far that Karlsefne and Snorri prepared their ships to explore the land in spring. * * * They had the vessels which Thorbgörn had brought out from Iceland. They had in all one hundred and sixty men when they sailed to the western settlement, and from thence to Bjorni. From here, having sailed *two days to the south*, they saw land, and having put off boats and explored the coast, they found there great flat stones, and called the land *Hellu-land*. Thence they sailed two days, and having turned from the south to the southeast, they found *a land covered with woods*, and many wild beasts upon it; and an island lay there out from the land to the southeast. Having killed a bear there, and called the place Bear-Island, they named the neighboring land Markland."

The narrative then continues to speak of their further adventures along the coast, and concludes in the following manner: "When they sailed from Vinland they had a south wind and came to Markland, and found there five Skrelings, one of whom was an adult, while two were girls and two were boys. They took the boys, but the others escaped. * * * The youths said there was a land on the other side, just opposite their country, where people lived who wore white clothes, and carried

poles before them to which they fastened flags, and they shouted with a loud voice. And people think that this was White Man's Land or *Great Ireland*."

In testimony of the foregoing, as placing beyond the region of doubt the reality of Thorfinn's voyage to America, and his presence in that part of the country of which we have spoken, is the runic inscription found on the eastern coast in the neighborhood of Providence about the middle of the seventeenth century. According to Professor Rafn and Fin Magneusen, to whom a photograph copy was forwarded to Copenhagen, the rude combination of figures is illustrative of the visit of the Northmen to the country, the name of Thorfinn and the number of his companions being engraved on the rock.

The geographical notices contained in the vellum and Gripla codexes are equally satisfactory: "South of Greenland is Helluland, next lies Markland, thence it is not far to Vinland the good," etc. And in the Gripla it is said: "Now it is to be mentioned what lies opposite Greenland, out from the Bay; it is Furdustrander; there are strong frosts there, so that it is not habitable as far as is known. South from thence is Helluland, which is called Skrelingsland; south from thence it is not far to Vinland the good," etc.¹

There can be no possible mistake, then, that the

(1) *Antiq. Amer.*: p. 215.

Vinland and White Man's Land, or Great Ireland, spoken of in the text, formed part of the Atlantic border of North America. But in the manuscripts from which we have quoted, it is expressly stated, that communication existed between that country and Ireland; that Ari Marson was baptized there and recognized by Irishmen; hence it is to be certainly concluded that some Irish Christians existed in the country previous to the eleventh century.¹

Such, indeed, is acknowledged by the greatest and most accurate of modern investigators. Speaking on the subject, Baron Von Humboldt says: "In the older Sagas—the historical narratives of Thornfinn Karlsefne, and the Icelandic Landnamabock—the southern coasts between Virginia and Florida are designated under the name of the Land of the White Men. They are expressly called Great Ireland (Irland-it-Mikla), and it is maintained that they were peopled by the Irish."² The same is also admitted by Mons. Charney, the learn-

(1) "This country—Vinland—was supposed to be Huitramannaland, as it was called (the Land of the White Men) otherwise called Irland-it-Mikla (Great Ireland), being probably that part of the coast of North America which extends southward from Chesapeake Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia and Florida. Among the Shawanese Indians, who some years ago emigrated from Florida, and are now settled in Ohio, there is preserved a tradition, which seems of importance here, viz: that Florida was once inhabited by white people, who were in possession of iron implements. Judging from the ancient accounts, this must have been an *Irish Christian people*, who, previous to the year 1000, were settled in this region. The powerful chieftain Ari Marson, of Reykjanes, in Iceland, was in the year 983 driven thither by storms, and was there baptized." (Abstract of the Historical Evidence contained in the *Antiquitates, or America Discovered by the Scandinavians in the Tenth Century*, xxxvii.)

(2) *Humboldt Cosmos*, vol. 1.

ed author of the ancient cities and ruins of the Americans,¹ as well as by Beamish. After quoting Professor Rafn's words to the effect that the country south of the Chesapeake Bay, including North and South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida was the part called White Man's Land, the last continues thus: "From what cause could the name of Great Ireland have arisen, but from the fact of the country having been *colonized by the Irish*? Coming from their own green island to a vast continent, possessing many fertile qualities of their native soil, the appellation would have been natural and appropriate; and costume, color or peculiar habits might have readily given rise to the country being denominated White Man's Land."

Nor should it be supposed that the Irish would have found it impossible to have reached the American shores at that period; for, as has been shown, they discovered and inhabited Iceland, previous to the ninth century; for the accomplishment of which, they had to traverse a stormy ocean of several hundred miles. And, we are told by O'Halloran, who gives as his authority the *Psalter of Cashel*, the oldest Irish manuscript extant, of a great expedition—a numerous fleet having been prepared by Moghcorb, king of Leath Mogha, in the year of our Lord 296, with which

(1) Dans les Sagas Islandaises toute la contrée comprenant le Texas la péninsule Floridienne et les bords du Mississippi, la Géorgie, actuelle et les Carolines, est désignée sous le nom d'Irland-et-Mikla ou la Grande Irlande, et par celui de Hyttrammanaland ou la Terre des hommes blancs." (*Villes et Ruines Américaines*; Charney, Paris, 1861, p. 18.)

he invaded Denmark. Also, in 367, Criomthan, who is styled monarch of Ireland and Albany, dispatched a powerful fleet to Scotland, in behalf of the Picts against the Romans; while still later, in 396, Niall of the nine hostages, sent what O'Halloran terms a numerous navy, for a like purpose.

Independent entirely of the foregoing—resting solely on the ancient Irish traditions which were known to exist, and were received in different parts of the continent of Europe, it is almost impossible to arrive at any other conclusion, than that America was visited by Irishmen, long before the arrival of the Spaniards in the fifteenth century. Every one acquainted with the history of Ireland, must be aware that there existed in the country, from the earliest time, a tradition of the voyage of St. Brennen, or Brandon, to the west. St. Brandon was born about the year 485, and undertook his voyage, it is thought, in 545. The local traditions of his adventure still exist on the west coast of Ireland; but he was not the first of whom tradition speaks, as having crossed the Atlantic. Barinthus, his cousin, it is said, had preceded him; from whom, having learned an account of the country, and the great number of idolators who inhabited it, he resolved to carry to them the tidings of redemption. The particulars of the tradition are embodied in the following: “We are informed that Brandon, hearing of the previous voyage of his cousin Barinthus, in the western

ocean, and obtaining an account from him, of the happy isles he had landed on in the far west, determined, under the strong desire of winning heathen souls to Christ, to undertake a voyage of discovery himself. And, aware that all along the western coast of Ireland, there were many traditions respecting the existence of a western land, he proceeded to the island of Arran, and there remained for some time, holding communication with the venerable St. Enda, and obtaining from him much information on what his mind was bent. There can be little doubt that he proceeded northward along the coast of Mayo, and made inquiry among its bays and islands, of the remnant of the Tuatha Danaan people, that once were so expert in naval affairs, and who acquired from the Milesians that overcame them, the character of being magicians, for their superior knowledge. At Inniskea, then, and Innisgloria, Brandon set up his Cross, and in after time, in his honor, *were erected those curious remains that still exist.*

Having prosecuted his inquiries with all diligence, Brandon returned to his native Kerry, and from a bay, sheltered by a lofty mountain, that is now known by his name, he set sail for the Atlantic land; and, directing his course toward the southwest, in order to meet the summer solstice, or, what we would call the tropics, after a long and rough voyage, his little bark being well provisioned, he came to summer seas, where he was

carried along, without the aid of sail or oar, for many a long day. This, it is to be presumed, was the great gulf stream, and which brought his vessel to shore, somewhere about the Virginia capes, or where the American coast trends eastward, and forms the New England States.

Here landing, he and his companions marched steadily into the interior, for fifteen days, and then came to a large river, flowing from east to west; this, evidently, was the Ohio. And this the holy adventurer was about to cross, when he was accosted by a person of noble presence—but whether a real or imaginary man, does not appear—who told him he had gone far enough; that further discoveries were reserved for other men, who would, in due time, come and christianize all that pleasant land.

The above, when tested by common sense, clearly shows that Brandon landed on a continent, and went a good way into the interior, met a great river, running in a different direction from those he heretofore had crossed, and here, from the difficulty of transit, or want of provisions, or deterred by increasing difficulties, he turned back; and, no doubt, in a dream, he saw some such vision, which embodied his own previous thoughts, and satisfied him that it was expedient for him to return home. It is said he remained seven years away, and returned to set up a college of three

thousand monks, at Clonbert, and then died in the odor of sanctity."¹

In the foregoing, the reader will not have failed to observe, that as St. Brandon, who was born in 485, found several traditions existing in the country, regarding the existence of a western land, and the connection therewith of the names of the Tuatha de Danaans, it is by no means improbable, that even before the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, America was visited by Irishmen. Indeed, the very accounts given by Irish historians, of the overthrow and dispersion of the Nemedians, would seem to favor this opinion; for, being overcome by the Fomarians, one thousand eight hundred years before Christ, they split into three bodies, and betook themselves to sea, in quest of other lands; some, as is supposed, finding a home, for the time, in North Britain; while others proceeded to more northern countries, for a like purpose. To this, we shall refer in a subsequent chapter, as tending to explain the most difficult problem of American history—the origin of the mounds, fortifications, viaducts and other evidences of ancient civilization, everywhere found on the American continent.

As to the fact of the voyage of St. Brandon, the traditions concerning it were not merely confined to the country of the Saint, but were widely

(1) *Otway's Sketches*: pp. 98-99.

diffused through the continent of Europe.¹ In the thirteenth century, Jacobus Voraginius, Bishop of Genoa, celebrated the Saint's voyage, in the poem called the "*Golden Legend*," and in the map drawn up for Columbus, prior to his voyage of discovery, by Toscanelli, of Florence, St. Brandon's land is expressly marked, from all which, it is to be concluded that the voyage of the Saint was not an imaginary but a real one,² and that from his presence in the country, or, from the other Irish, who have been shown, from Icelandic histories, to have been on the coast at a later date, may have come those manifestly Christian traditions, doctrines and practices, found to exist in California, on the arrival of the Spaniards, and of which we have spoken above.

(1) Vide *Usher's Antiq. of British Churches; Epistles of Irish Saints; Humboldt's Cosmos*: vol. I.

(2) *Irish Settlers in North America*: vol. I., p. 21.

NOTE.—The extracts from the original Icelandic will be found in Note at end of volume.

CHAPTER XI.

REDUCTION OF THE COUNTRY BY THE CIVIL AUTHORITY FOUND TO BE IMPOSSIBLE.—IT IS OFFERED TO THE JESUITS.—THEY REFUSE.—FATHER KUHO PROPOSES TO UNDERTAKE THE WORK.—HE IS JOINED BY FATHER JOHN SALVA TIERRA.—THEIR CHARACTERS.—THEIR PERSEVERING EFFORTS TO OBTAIN PERMISSION TO ENTER THE COUNTRY.—THEIR SUCCESS.—FATHER TIERRA SAILS FOR CALIFORNIA.—THE LIVES OF THE CHRISTIANS IN DANGER FROM THE NATIVES.—FATHER PICCOLO ARRIVES.—DANGER AGAIN FROM THE NATIVES.—CRITICAL POSITION OF THE CHRISTIANS.—THEIR PROVISIONS ARE EXHAUSTED.—ON THE VERGE OF PERISHING FROM WANT.—THEY MAKE A NOVENA.—SUPPLIES ARRIVE.—FATHER TIERRA VISITS THE TRIBES IN THE INTERIOR.—SUCCESS DURING THE FIRST THREE YEARS.

ON the return of Admiral Otando's expedition, of which we have spoken in the opening chapter, after an absence of three years, during which two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars of the royal exchequer were fruitlessly wasted, the probability of reducing the country by such means was taken into the serious consideration of Government. In a council held on the occasion, after mature deliberation, the conquest of California was declared entirely impracticable by the civil authorities. But that such a dependency might not be lost to the crown, it was proposed to entrust its reduction to the Jesuit Fathers, with an offer of the necessary means to be paid annually from the Government funds.

Father Angelo Marras, the then acting provincial, with the unanimous consent of the chapter, respectfully declined the offer of Government, alleging as a reason the many inconveniences the society would be exposed to in taking upon itself the temporal concerns of the country in the manner required. The Fathers, however, expressed themselves ready to furnish a number of missionary priests, as they had done in the preceding expeditions, whenever Government would deem proper to renew the attempt. Thus the matter was given over as hopeless, and no further attempt was made for the ten following years. Meantime, he Almighty, in his ineffable wisdom and goodness, was preparing in the person of an humble missionary priest, a power which, when all others had failed, would prove eminently successful in accomplishing the work, thereby establishing the truth of the words : "For the foolish things of the world hath God chosen that He may confound the wise ; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that He may confound the strong. And the base things of the world, and the things that are contemptible hath God chosen, and the things that are not, that He might bring to nought things that are : that no flesh should glory in His sight." ¹

"Arms and men," says Father Venegas, "were the means for which men relied for the success of

(1) *St. Paul's First Epistles Corinthians*: chap. 1, v. 27-29.

this enterprise. But it was the will of Heaven that this triumph should be owing to the meekness and courtesy of His ministers, to the humiliation of His cross, and the power of His word. God seemed only to wait till human force acknowledged its weakness to display the strength of His Almighty arm, confounding the pride of the world by means of the weakest instrument. Possibly God was not pleased to countenance the first enterprises to California, whilst the capital object was temporal good, and religion only a secondary motive. And, on the contrary, He prospered the design when His kingdom was the motive, and the advantage of the monarchy only considered as a probable consequence."

After the failure of the expedition, the missionaries returned to their respective positions, but the good dispositions they had witnessed in the natives, made them desirous of returning to a land where they might reasonably hope for the most brilliant success as the result of their labors. The most interested and confident in the future success of the work was the Rev. Father Kühno, a man of high culture, great natural ability, and a profound sense of religion. Father Kühno was equally remarkable for his piety, his zeal, and indefatigable exertions on behalf of religion, of which he eventually gave such remarkable proofs, as for his talent and natural endowments.

Born about the year 1650, at Trent, he entered the

Society of Jesus at an early period; and, after completing his course, in which he was eminently distinguished, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the University of Ingolstadt, in Bavaria. Here he was honored on account of his eminent attainments, with the particular favors of the crown. The highest honors and dignities were certain to follow in time; but neither the favors of the monarch, nor the applause of his pupils was any impediment in preventing him from devoting himself to the wants of the poor and abandoned, as an humble missionary priest to a barbarous race. Accordingly, he exchanged the precincts of the court for the barren hills of California—the students of Ingolstadt, for the poor savages of America. Like his great prototype in the east, Father Richard de Nobili, his heart was inflamed with a most ardent desire of promoting the kingdom of God upon earth.

Pursuant to a vow made to his patron St. Francis, he quitted his post of mathematics in Europe, and came over to Mexico, as missionary to the natives. Such devotion in the cause of religion could not fail to be attended with the most favorable results. Having proposed to himself the Apostle of the Indies as his model in life, he imitated his virtues, and practiced his austerities. His heart was as large as his intellect. Not only the conversion of the savage inhabitants, but their amelioration, both social and religious, was the

first and uppermost thought in his mind. The consummate knowledge he had of the sciences, as well as his gentleness and affability of manner, which gained him an ascendancy over the minds of others, contributed not a little to aid him in effecting his purpose.

But, though the prime mover and principal agent in bringing about the conversion of the people, Father Kühno was not the immediate instrument used by the Almighty for this charitable purpose, as we shall presently see. With the view of facilitating his entrance into California, he solicited permission to labor in the province of Sonora, at the opposite side of the gulf. By this, he contemplated being able to enter more readily on the field of his labors, and the reduction of the natives. On his request being granted, he started from Mexico, on the twentieth day of October, 1686, and traversed the country in every direction, seeking to impress upon the minds of his brethren the importance and advantage of so glorious an enterprise. During the course of his travels, he was met by the Rev. Father John Maria Salva Tierra, a man of like zeal and ability, of much experience in missionary life, having spent several years among the natives in the province of Tarrahumara.

Father Tierra was then engaged as visitor of the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora. His natural abilities, the gentleness, earnestness and affability of

his disposition—the apostolic spirit evinced in his life, joined to his naturally robust constitution, recommended him to his brother Religious as a man eminently qualified for so arduous an undertaking. The description given of him by one who knew him best, is worthy of the reader's attention:

“He was of a strong, robust constitution, bearing fatigue and hardship without affecting his health. His judgment and prudence had recommended him to the unanimous approbation of the society for the high position he had enjoyed. He was of the most endearing gentleness in discourse; had all the intrepidity and resolution requisite for beginning and conducting the greatest enterprises. The opinion of his wisdom and intellectual talent had gained him universal esteem, which was heightened to veneration by his Christian virtues.”

Such was the man destined by Heaven for the introduction of Christianity into California; but, as frequently happens, even in important concerns, undertaken for the glory of God, he had to encounter great opposition in effecting his charitable purpose. In vain did he look for encouragement, from the members of his society, the Government, or the public. The scheme was so large, and the difficulties so great, while the means at disposal, were, apparently, so inadequate, that the work was considered entirely impracticable by all. There was one, however—the man who put the project originally before him—who entered heartily

into his views, encouraged and sustained him in his purpose. While enjoying each other's society, it was the general subject of conversation, the object of their thoughts and desires. After weighing the matter maturely, it was resolved to seek immediately for permission to enter the country. Father Tierra applied to the society for permission, but the provincial, looking upon the scheme as impracticable, refused his request; and, even when repeatedly urged, it met with no better success. The proposal was also rejected by the viceroy and council, on the plea of the exhausted state of the finances; although, as we have seen, his Excellency and advisers had proposed, on the failure of Otando's expedition, to supply the necessary expenses from the royal exchequer.

Meeting with no encouragement, either from the Fathers of his society, or from the members of Government in Mexico, this remarkable man resolved to appeal to the sovereign in person; but in this he was doomed to a like disappointment. The Court of Madrid rejected his plan as unfeasible and ideal. In short, everything but the faith and confidence of the humble missionary, seemed to declare absolutely against him and his project. The country, the Government, the society, the monarch—all, in a word, were opposed to his designs; but no manner of obstacles, or repulses from those in authority, was able to shake him in his firm resolve. He had trusted in God, the work

was his, and the Lord was sure to be his strength. Well, indeed, might he have said with the Psalmist, when everything and every one seemed to thwart his designs, and to frown upon his purpose, "In te, Domine, speravi non confundar in æternum."

Ten years were thus wasted in vain and fruitless representations to the civil and religious authorities, both at home and abroad. At length, the difficulties seemed to give way: it was, however, only in appearance; for when Father Tierra and his friend, Father Kühno, arrived in Mexico, being led to suppose that they would succeed in their desires, their most earnest representations for permission to enter California, were met with a positive refusal, and they were obliged to return, the one, to his mission in the province of Pimeria, and the other, to the care of some novices at Tepozatlan.

So many obstacles thus thrown in his way, and such repeated refusals given, by those high in authority, would have deterred any ordinary mind; but, as the Father felt sure of his call, he was not to be intimidated, or driven from his purpose, by the most disheartening refusals, or the sternest opposition. He repeated his request to the Father-general of the society, earnestly soliciting permission to enter on the mission. The superior of the society, at that time, was Father Gonzales de

Santa Ella, a man of remarkable ability and virtue, whose learning, in the University of Salamanca, was as admired as his zeal for the conversion of the Moors was conspicuous. In him, Father Tierra found a sincere and devoted admirer and advocate. He was a man of a kindred mind, of the same mould and cast of character, learned, pious, zealous and trustful. Having had occasion to come over to Mexico at that time, after consulting with the Fathers, the possibility of converting the aborigines and of reducing the country, was, for the first time, deemed a practicable matter; permission was accordingly granted for undertaking the work. Thus, after several years of trial, disappointment and anxiety, during which, the faith and perseverance of the Fathers were rigorously tested, the holy and zealous Religious had the pleasure of seeing one of their most serious and formidable difficulties entirely removed. Another and almost equally formidable obstacle, however, still remained in their way; for Government was unwilling to supply the necessary means for undertaking the work. The meanness and impolicy of the civil authorities in refusing the missionaries the necessary means, after having previously promised them, cannot be too severely condemned. But what Government was unwilling to do, was done by the faith and pious liberality of the people.

On receiving permission from the General of the

society, to enter on the accomplishment of that work which in vain had occupied the attention of Government for close upon two hundred years, Father Tierra proceeded to Mexico to solicit the alms of the faithful, for the commencement of his enterprise. There he met with valuable aid in the person of Father Ugarte, professor of philosophy, and of whose missionary success we shall afterwards speak. As the success of the expedition depended not so much on the means requisite for enabling the missionaries to land in the country, as upon maintaining them in the field of their labors, a no very inconsiderable sum was required for the full accomplishment of the work. This, the liberality and munificence of the faithful supplied. Subscriptions to the amount of several thousand dollars were soon in the hands of Father Tierra. A government official, the Treasurer of Acapulco, aided the work with the gift of a vessel, and the loan of another; while the congregation of Our Lady of Dolores, in Mexico promised an annual sum of five hundred dollars as a subsistence for one mission. To this was added, by a virtuous priest of Queretaro, the munificent sum of twenty thousand crowns, as a fund for the establishment of two additional missions, with the further assurance, that he would honor any bills signed by the Fathers.

Matters being thus happily arranged and everything pointing in the direction of a prosperous

issue, the sanction of Government was sought and obtained for the expedition, though not without opposition on the part of some members of Council. The royal warrant empowering Fathers Kühno and Salva Tierra to take possession of California was issued on the 5th of February, on the following conditions: First, that they should not demand anything of Government or draw for any sums on the treasury without the express command of his Majesty; and, secondly, they were to take possession of the country in the name of the Sovereign. Both conditions were readily accepted by the Religious. By virtue of the commission they were empowered to enlist, appoint and maintain a certain number of soldiers and commanders, retaining in their hands the right of discharging them for offences or misdemeanors whenever necessity demanded it. In behalf of the soldiers it was ordained that they should enjoy the usual immunities as if serving under the crown, and that their services should be accounted the same as in war. Lastly, the power of appointing civil officials for the administration of justice and the internal management of the country was granted to the Fathers.

Father Tierra took his departure from Mexico on the 7th of February, two days after he had received his commission from Government. It was not, however, till the middle of October of the same year that he was able to sail on his voyage.

He was detained at the harbor of Hiaqui for several reasons, but especially awaiting the arrival of his friend and companion, Father Kühno, who was to join him in the work. But he having been unavoidably delayed on account of a rebellion which broke out at this particular time among the Indians, Father Tierra was necessitated to proceed on his voyage alone. His entire expedition amounted only to eight persons—five soldiers, including their commander, and three Indians—respectively from the provinces of Sinaloa, Sonora and Guadalaxara. Of the soldiers, one was a Creole, one a Maltese, a third a Sicilian, and the fourth a Peruvian mulatto. With this insignificant band the Father started on his voyage, and after a prosperous sail of three days, landed in California, in St. Denis' Bay, on the 19th of October, 1697, a day ever memorable in the annals of the Californian Church. A suitable place near the shore having been chosen for the encampment, the provisions, animals and baggage were landed from the vessel. Temporary barracks were erected for the soldiers, a hut served for a chapel, while the symbol of the Christian religion, decorated with garlands of flowers, was erected in a prominent position, never again to be removed from the land.

The immaculate Mother of God having been chosen patroness of the mission, her statue was brought in procession from the vessel and placed

in the church. Thus, under such humble, yet not entirely unfavorable auspices, was the first Catholic mission for the conversion of the Californian aborigines begun by the Rev. Father John Maria Salva Tierra of the Society of Jesus, on the 19th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1697. On the 25th of the same month possession was formally taken of the country by the Father, in the name of his majesty, Philip V.

Father Tierra, now finding himself alone in the field of his labors for which he had so long and so persistently petitioned, must naturally have felt the weight and responsibility of his position. Before him lay the whole of Lower and Upper California, with their thousands of barbarous inhabitants, for the conversion and civilization of whom he had entirely to rely on the mild and persuasive words of the gospel. For the accomplishment of his purpose he applied himself in the first instance to the acquisition of the vernacular. The difficulties he had to contend with, however, lay not entirely in his unacquaintance of the language. They were of a more formidable and exceptional character. To the rudeness, barbarity and ignorance of the people, the ordinary lot of every Apostle, was also to be added the still more formidable impediments—the rude and inhospitable nature of the country, to which is to be attributed the failure of so many and such important expeditions undertaken by Government and private specula-



Illustration of a Native American scene

from a collection of illustrations

tion during the century and a half previous. The difficulty, too, of obtaining through agents from the charity of the faithful what was denied them by Government as well as the very precarious arrival of the supplies, even when forwarded from Mexico, rendered the work obviously arduous in the extreme. But inasmuch as his mission was approved of by Heaven, difficulties were not suffered to interfere with its progress.

To obtain the more readily the affections of the inhabitants, Father Tierra had recourse in the first instance to those natural means best calculated to win the esteem of the savages. To this end he distributed daily amongst them a quantity of pozzoli, or rice, of which they were exceedingly fond, but on the condition of their learning some prayers and attending the catechism. This they continued to do for a time, but, liking the pozzoli better than the prayers, they sought for the one while they neglected the other. The Father's refusal to grant their request was near leading to the worst and most deplorable consequences. It so angered their feelings as to arouse all the savage characteristics of their nature, and they resolved to get possession of all by murdering the Father and his companions. In this they must necessarily have succeeded had not the providence of God interposed in behalf of the Christians. They had pitched upon the 31st of October for the accomplishment of their wicked design, but God, who is

ever present with his faithful apostles, defeated their purpose in the following remarkable manner:

One of their number, a chief, happening to be ill, and having formed the desire of dying a Christian, informed the Father of the people's intent, and thus enabled him to take the necessary precautionary measures. These measures, however, might have proved entirely inadequate had not the presence of a vessel in the harbor dispirited their numbers; but as the vessel made only a little delay they quickly resumed their former hostility. A fortnight was thus passed by the Father and his companions in the greatest trepidation and danger. Night and day they were constantly on guard expecting momentarily to be attacked by the savages. At length, on the 13th of November, the natives determined to carry out their design. The attack was commenced by a shower of stones and arrows from some five hundred Indians, who rushed upon the camp from different quarters. Then the great body advanced, shouting and vociferating most wildly, but they were presently repulsed by the bold and daring attitude of the Christians. It may, however, be more correct to identify the safety of the Father and his companions with the special protection of Heaven vouchsafed in so noble a cause, for otherwise it is difficult to see how some hundreds of exasperated savages would not have rushed upon that mere handful of Christians, or that some of their arrows

in whose use they were such experts, would not have proved fatal to the same.

A few effective shots from the beginning would, indeed, have gone far to dispirit their numbers; but as the Father would not permit them being fired on till matters came to the greatest extremity, the natives were emboldened, and the action continued for a couple of hours, when the whole body precipitately retired, but only to return with additional fury and additional numbers. The Christians, now finding themselves sore pressed by the enemy, were necessitated, unless they desired to part with their lives, to make use of the piece of artillery which they had in the camp; but unhappily, instead of being a means of defence it was well-nigh near being a cause of defeat, for bursting at the first shot it flew into several pieces, without, however, producing any more unfavorable result than that of frightening the garrison and encouraging the enemy.

The Indians, on noticing the result and seeing that no damage was caused to their numbers, concluded that as the cannon was ineffectual the muskets were doubly sure to be so, an opinion in which they were confirmed by reason of the fact that the soldiers were commanded by the Father to fire in the air, and not at the men. The attack, however, becoming more desperate, and the Father having barely escaped with his life, orders were given by the commander to fire upon the enemy,

when presently, terrified by the effects of the musketry, the assailants retired in disorder and betook themselves precipitately to flight.

The salutary effect of this lesson was quickly experienced by the Christians, for after a little a deputation, headed by one of the chiefs, waited on the garrison, declaring their sorrow for having attempted the lives of their benefactors. A little later on another deputation, consisting of women and children, arrived with a similar object. Father Tierra, it is hardly necessary to remark, received them with kindness and affection, and after pointing out to them the enormity of their crime, distributed among them several presents as a pledge of forgiveness. That night solemn thanksgiving was returned to God and the immaculate Virgin for the signal protection afforded the garrison on that trying occasion. On the following morning one of the vessels belonging to the mission, laden with provisions, arrived in the bay—a circumstance which added not a little to the general joy and rejoicing occasioned by the success in the attack of the natives. Father Tierra, thus seeing the protection of Heaven so manifestly vouchsafed to him in the victory and opportune arrival of the supplies, became doubly active in the discharge of his functions, relying in all things for success on the power and favor of Heaven.

The business of the mission was again regularly resumed; the storm had blown over; the natives

were returned, and everything looked cheerful and hopeful as before. Father Tierra now reaped the first fruit of his mission. The sick chief, of whom I have spoken above as having informed the Father of the intended attack on his life, was formally received into the church. The circumstances connected with his conversion were so remarkable that they deserve to be noticed. Ten years previous, during the time of Otando's expedition in the country, he had received a slight knowledge of the religion, but was not received into the church. Meantime, between then and the arrival of the Fathers, it pleased the Almighty to afflict him with an incurable disease—a terrible cancer, whose ravages were fortunately stayed till the coming of the missionaries. On learning of their landing he immediately hastened to their presence as speedily as possible, and had the double consolation of receiving the holy sacrament of baptism and of saving the lives of the Christians, as we have seen. His death was rendered still more consoling from the fact that he had the pleasure of seeing his children also received into the church. Two other children and an adult were likewise baptized at this time, to the great edification of the garrison and the consolation of the Fathers.

While matters were thus satisfactorily progressing, Father Tierra, was joined by his friend and co-laborer, Father Francis Piccolo, who had been detained at Hiaqui, on business. The new Father's

arrival brought the greatest consolation to the heart of the Apostle. Writing to a friend on the subject, he says: "I cannot express to you the comfort his coming has given me; not so much for my own person alone, as for the Spaniards and Indians; for the conversion of the latter has now an appearance of certainty. Henceforth, the standard of Christ will not be removed from these countries, and Mary will, undoubtedly, lay the foundation of her holy house among the elect."

In order to fortify themselves against any sudden attack on the part of the natives, as also to add more to their personal comfort, the Fathers and soldiers now began the erection of works of defence, and the enlargement of their dwellings. The former consisted of a trench and a palisade, drawn round the camp, and the latter of huts for the Religious and their companions. A little chapel, formed of clay and stone, with a thatched roof, was erected, under the patronage of the Virgin, and took the place of the tent which hitherto served for that purpose. In the interval between then and the great festival of Christmas, every preparation was made for the dedication of the little building, the first permanent one of the kind which had been erected on Californian soil. The pomp and ceremony usual on such occasions were, in great measure, compensated for by the number of masses, and the fervent devotion of the Christians.

Letters demanding an additional number of missionaries and troops, were forwarded at this juncture, to Mexico — a precaution, which, as far as the military were concerned, evinced a careful prudence and foresight on the part of the Fathers.

Up to this time, the general impression in the minds of the natives was, that the Spaniards had come to the coast with the object of fishing for pearls, and trading with the inhabitants. But when they came to find out that their purpose was of a different nature—the establishment of religion—their evil propensities were immediately awakened, and a bitter antipathy created in their minds against the Religious and their doctrines. The teachers, whose authority and gains had suffered by the influence of the Fathers, were not wanting in magnifying the causes of discontent, and thereby succeeded in increasing the rancor of the people. At the same time, a part of the people was strongly inclined to the Fathers, but the majority was on the side of the sorcerers. Their frequent and bitter complaints, at last took the shape of open hostilities. After destroying a boat belonging to the mission, a large number of them encountered a few of the troops; but, as in the former engagement, were speedily routed; and, what was of still greater importance, seemed to recognize, in their defeat, their utter inability to conquer the Christians.

The captain of the Europeans was for making an example of the leaders, but the Father in whose hands the entire control of the garrison was placed, would not listen to the proposal. He had come to preach the gospel of the New Law—to set an example of patience, forbearance, and forgiveness of injuries—and could not see the propriety of punishing even the guilty. On seeing an apparent repentance on the part of the savages, he granted them a general pardon and forgiveness of the past. This generous and ready forgiveness on the part of the Father shows the true character of the man, and the spirit by which he was animated, in the same manner as the revolt of the natives reveals to the reader one of the numerous obstacles and difficulties he had to contend with, in establishing the faith in the country. The savage character is, in many things, puerile. It is that of the child—fickle, volatile and impetuous, easily roused, violent and unreasoning, but presently returning to duty upon an exercise of authority.

Six months had already gone by, since the Fathers had landed. It was now the month of April, that part of the ecclesiastical year, observed all over the Catholic world with such fervor and solemnity. Those who have had the happiness of being in Rome, or in any of the other Catholic capitals of Europe, during the week preceding the great festival of Easter, must have been deeply

impressed with the solemnity and impressiveness of the Catholic ritual. But, on the Californian coast a century and a half since, when Christianity was only barely struggling into existence, little could be expected. A mud chapel, with a thatched roof, and little or no interior decorations, was badly suited to elevate the mind and impress the audience with the solemnity of the occasion. Yet it was, we are told, with inexpressible amazement that the Indians beheld, for the first time, in Father Tierra's little church, the ceremonies of Holy Week. The plaintive chant, the numerous lights, the sacred vestments, and the pious demeanor of the Christians, struck them with awe, and inclined them most favorably toward our holy religion.

The evil disposition of the people in general, as shown in the late attempts on the lives of the Christians, were largely compensated for by the piety and devotion of some of the children. "Such boys and girls," writes Father Tierra, in a letter to one of his companions, "as were catechumens, and had been instructed in the prayers, and other devotional exercises, drew tears from my eyes, particularly a little boy called Juanico Cavallero, not yet four years of age, who, with his little shell on his head and his wand in his hand, conducted the questions, putting his little finger to his mouth when any one talked or did anything wrong. Sometimes he would take the rosa-

ries and reliquaries of the soldiers, then fall on his knees and devoutly kiss them, and put them to his little eyes, and bid all to do likewise, and, if any one did not take notice, it vexed him to such a degree that he was not to be quieted till the offender fell on his knees and kissed a rosary or reliquary, while all blessed the devout importunity of the child."

The Fathers had two great sources of trial at this time well calculated to test their faith and confidence in God and his Blessed Mother, under whose powerful patronage the mission was placed. The first was the abrupt and entirely unexpected departure of the natives Catechumens and others from the Mission, the cause of which, for the time, was unknown to the missionaries. They had gone into the interior for the gathering of the pithahayas, of which I have spoken above, and which usually occurred in the months of June and July. The second was the fear of being obliged to perish of want, their entire stock of provisions being reduced to three sacks of maggoty maize, and three of badly-ground corn. As the vessel they had dispatched for supplies had been entirely over her time, a circumstance easily accounted for by the late tempestuous state of the weather, to which her certain destruction had been attributed by their terrified imaginations, little or no hope was entertained by any of a speedy relief; and all, as a necessary consequence, looked forward with

the greatest apprehension to what seemed to them their deplorable but inevitable end.

The Fathers, while accepting with humility and resignation as the will of Divine Providence their critical condition, never failed to exhort those under their charge to faith and confidence in God; yet, so if necessity demanded it, to die cheerfully in the cause of religion. A more trying and perilous condition does not often fall to the lot of the missionary in a foreign land. On a barren, inhospitable coast, deprived of almost all the necessities of life, and their own and the lives of their fellow companions resting on the slender probability of the safe arrival of a vessel within a few days! It is only in the greatest of peril and need that the Christian virtues appear entirely to advantage. Faith, hope, and confidence are ever sure to bring their reward. The mission had been placed under the auspices of the glorious Mother of God, she was its patron and protectress; why not, therefore, supplicate her to hasten the propitious arrival of the supplies? The proposal was agreeable to all; and, while each encouraged his neighbor to die cheerfully in the cause of religion, should the sacrifice be demanded, a nine days devotion in honor of the immaculate Virgin was immediately begun. It is hardly necessary to mention that the fervor and earnestness of their supplications increased as their stock of provisions ran low. Peril is oftentimes the greatest stimulant to piety. The man who is

oblivious of his Maker in the time of prosperity, thinks of Him in the hour of adversity.

The first days of the exercises are passed, but no relief is obtained. The chances of life are daily and hourly growing slenderer and slenderer; at length the end of the provisions is reached. Every face is then turned to the sea. It must be presently one thing or the other—either immediate relief or speedy death. Mary must either hear their prayers and obtain their release, or she must close her ears against their earnest and continuous cries. The latter she is unable to do, charity forbids it. The nine days devotions are not yet ended, but yonder, on the “deep, blue sea,” the aid is seen. It is, it is a sail! The vessel is heaving to! and now, ye faint-hearted, desponding Christians, why did you doubt? Did you not know the Saviour’s word: “Amen, amen, I say to you; if you ask the Father anything in my name, he will give it to you.” Did ye not know, too, the words of Bernard, Mary’s greatest servant: “It was never known, in any age, that those who implored thy aid, sought thy protection, or solicited thy mediation, did so in vain.”

The day on which the vessel arrived was the twenty-first of June, the festival of St. Lewis of Gonzaga. She brought, together with a large and ample supply of provisions, seven volunteer soldiers, whose pious dispositions had prompted them to offer their services to the Fathers.

The missionaries being now tolerably acquainted with the vernacular, and having abundant supplies for several months, deemed it advisable to take a general survey of the country, and to enter, if possible, into friendly relations with the different tribes, with the view of establishing missions among them. In accordance with this resolution, Father Tierra, accompanied by some of his men, proceeded some distance into the interior, to where they had learned some of the natives were residing. Upon seeing the Father and his party, the Indians became so alarmed that they immediately took to the woods, and remained out of sight so long as the Christians remained in the place.

The following Spring the Father revisited the tribe, and with better success, for their fears being allayed from what they had learned from their brethren in the interval, they received him with kindness and listened attentively while he spoke to them on matters of religion. The kindness and benevolence he evinced in their regard were soon talked of in the different tribes, and amongst others, drew to the garrison a clan, or rancheria, from a place called Vigge Biabundo, situated at a considerable distance from the mission. Their object was to make the acquaintance of the Religious, and to invite them to visit their country. One of their number, a youth of remarkable promise, showed such an admirable disposition that he was admit-

ted to baptism, and shortly after one of the Fathers visited the tribe in their home. They received him with the greatest affection and kindness, and supplied him with all the requirements their poverty permitted.

During the days he remained in the camp, the news of his arrival having spread through the neighboring tribes, he was visited by Indians from different parts, but as far as his mission was concerned he was unable to do more than to make their acquaintance and promise to return on a future occasion. And it is to be borne in mind that his object in thus casually visiting the tribes was none other than that of determining the favorable disposition of the people and the facilities the locality afforded of forming a permanent settlement there. As will be seen in a subsequent page, several missions and rancherias were attended from the principal settlements: they were what at present would be regarded as out-stations. The requirements indispensably necessary for the establishment of missions in any part of the country were fertile, well-watered valleys, and extensive pasturage for black cattle and horses.

The result of the Father's exertions during this visit was the baptism of several children and the instruction of a large number of adults, in whose hearts the first seeds of the gospel were happily sown. But as that part of the country was not well suited for agricultural purposes, Father Tierra

shortly after returned to the garrison at Loretto, the name given to the mission already established; thence he despatched his co-laborer, Father Piccolo, to the country of the Viggi, with the view of forming a second mission. Father Piccolo commenced the good work by constructing a few little huts for himself and his followers, for it is to be remembered that there was not a house, properly so called, in the entire country. The labor and inconvenience the erection of the buildings entailed on him may be judged from the fact that he had not only to direct but to lead in their construction as well in preparing the mud, raising the walls, hewing the wood, and roofing and thatching the building. But of what consequence was labor or inconvenience to such a man when the kingdom of God was to be promoted thereby? The truly apostolic missionary is ever ready to sacrifice his comfort, convenience, liberty, yea, even life, for the advancement of the interests of religion. It is the same noble, generous spirit—the desire of winning souls to the Redeemer—that prompts one to live amid the glaciers of the north, and another under the burning suns of the south—that induces one to adopt the habits of the wandering tribe, and another to settle down in the humble cot on the coast.

Three years had now elapsed since the landing of the expedition, and already the second mission was founded under the patronage of the great

apostle of the Indies. There are no means of determining exactly how many conversions were made up to this period; but, from the happy results which attended the Fathers' exertions later on, it is not unreasonable to suppose that even the first years of their apostolic career were marked with considerable success. The chief work, however, which occupied them at the outset was the preparation of the people for the future reception of the gospel.

The joy the missionaries experienced in thus far accomplishing the work of their master was embittered by the narrowness of the circumstances to which they were reduced, having out of their meager supplies to provide for the necessities of a large number of followers—six hundred in all—both Spaniards and natives.

CHAPTER XII.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE MISSIONARIES AT FIRST. — THEY PETITION THE VICEROY FOR AID. — THEY ARE ACCUSED OF AVARICE. — THEIR JUSTIFICATION. — ORDERS TO THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT, BY PHILIP V., IN FAVOR OF THE FATHERS. — PREJUDICE AGAINST THE RELIGIOUS. — THEY PROVE CALIFORNIA TO BE A PENINSULA. — REVOLT OF THE INDIANS OF VIGGE BIABUNDO. — MODE OF LIFE AT THE MISSIONS. FATHER KUHN'S TREATMENT OF A REFRACTORY INDIAN. — HIS SUCCESS IN RECLAIMING THE PEOPLE. — MASSACRE OF THE CHRISTIANS AT THE MISSION OF ST. XAVIER. — PUNISHMENT OF THE MURDERERS.

THE numerous and expensive wars in which Spain was engaged, from the accession of Philip II. till the reign of Charles III., is put forward by some, as a palliation for the constant neglect with which that country treated the missionaries, while laboring to extend the limits of her possessions in this part of the world. The Mexican authorities, too, naturally anxious to hasten to the relief of the monarch, in all his embarrassments, forwarded to Europe, to be employed for purposes of ambition and vanity—instead of expending on the requirements of the province those considerable sums poured into the treasury by Cortes, Pizarro and Almagro. The natural consequence of this shortsighted policy, was the discouragement of every generous effort for the national interests of the New World, as is clearly evinced in the treatment the missionaries received at the hands of the Mexican officials.

During the first years of their labors, not having yet obtained any important subsistence from the country, they had to rely, almost entirely, for their supplies on the vessels belonging to the missions. But, as these were of the poorest description, consisting only of three rickety barks, in which, any one careful of his life, would be unwilling to sail, their lives were oftentimes placed in the most imminent danger. One of them, the *San Fermin*, shortly after ran aground and was lost, on the Mexican coast. To meet the emergency, Father *Tierra* respectfully petitioned the viceroy, requesting him to bestow on the mission a vessel, to be speedily dispatched to the relief of the settlers. He also took occasion to point out to his excellency, the well-grounded hopes there were of the entire submission of the country to the gospel of Christ, and the dominion of His Catholic Majesty. The principal point, however, in his address, was the very imminent peril in which the settlers were placed; unless immediate relief was sent to their aid. So urgent and reasonable a request, one would have thought, ought to have met with a ready response; but the only reception it found at the hands of the authorities, was silence on the part of the viceroy, and calumny on the side of his subordinates. For what reasons, it would be difficult to determine, except from the promptings of an utterly malevolent mind, the Fathers were accused of dishonesty, and

charged with the loss of the vessel. By the destruction of the *San Fermin*, the Religious, it was said, were entertaining a hope of establishing a claim on the royal exchequer.

Such was the manner in which the faith, labors and exertions of these generous and self-sacrificing men were shamefully rewarded by their country and king. Thoroughly devoted to the interests of religion and the crown, they had left their friends, their homes and their brethren, and come to these barren, inhospitable shores, in order to plant the Cross in the country—to teach the people the way of salvation, and thereby to gain them to God and the State. And, while nobly and generously applying themselves to these laudable ends, amid a thousand dangers, privations and sufferings, the only reward they received from their own, was coldness, ingratitude and calumny. But this was not without a purpose on the part of the Almighty: the work of God is ever known by tribulation. It was in suffering and sorrow that the first foundations of the Church were laid. In establishing His kingdom upon earth, the Son of God drank deep of the cup of affliction, and all who come after him must be prepared for the same.

More with the view of removing the stigma from the members of the society than from any care of himself, Father *Tierra* forwarded letters to Mexico, establishing the accidental loss of the ves-

sel, and clearing himself of any collusion in the matter. These letters, it is consoling to think, were sufficient to disabuse the authorities of the injustice of the charge, but failed to move them in aid of the settlers. Although the critical state of the garrison demanded the speediest aid, all that could be obtained from the Mexican Government was, that the matter would be referred to the Court of Madrid, and his majesty's pleasure solicited! Even at the loss to the crown of the country and the colonists, the old, hereditary, stately routine, was not to be infringed.

During the years 1698 and 1699, favorable accounts of the Fathers' endeavors had been forwarded by the viceroy to his majesty in council. The death of Charles II., at this critical moment, diverted the minds of the authorities from Californian affairs, and thus prevented any succor being granted. On the accession of Philip V., orders were sent to the Mexican Government, strongly in favor of the missionaries, ordering that all their requirements should be supplied, and that an annual sum of six thousand dollars be paid for the support of the garrison. This was the first aid received by the Fathers from the authorities. Another warrant was also issued, at this time, by her majesty, Mary of Savoy, in favor of the Religious:

"The King and Queen Regent, to the Duke of Albuquerque, my cousin, Governor and Captain-General of the province of New Spain, and President of the Royal Audiencia of Mexico, etc.:

“ The Provincial of the Society of the Jesuits, in the province of Toledo, has represented to me that it is now some five years since some missionaries of his order undertook the spiritual and temporal conquest of the Californias; and that, in August of last year (1701), they had reduced the Indians, for the space of fifty leagues, to a settled obedience, and founded four towns, with above six hundred Christians, most of them young, and no less than two thousand adult catechumens,” etc.

From this the reader may learn the result of the Fathers’ exertions during the first years of their missionary labors, even while thwarted by Government, and calumniated by foes.

The Mexican authorities being engaged at this time in prosecuting a war for the subjugation of Florida and Texas, found means of neglecting the royal instructions, on the plea of inability to furnish such a considerable sum. The true cause, however, would seem to have been the antipathy that existed in the minds of the civil authorities against the Religious. Short-sighted, worldly-minded, indifferent religionists, could never conceive how any, even those dedicated to the immediate service of God, would willingly expose themselves to continual dangers, privation and suffering, without the hope of an earthly reward. And, as in the former expeditions undertaken at the expense of the crown, many were raised to a position of affluence, either by fishing, or trading for

pearls, or by moneys received from the royal exchequer, it was freely concluded that the labors of the Fathers were not entirely directed to the glory of God, in the conversion of the natives. Even modern writers, whose means of knowing the truth have been all that could be reasonably desired, have unhappily indulged in similar ideas, and thus perpetuated the calumny against the Religious. As an instance, the following may be taken as an example: "In order to prevent the Court of Spain from conceiving any jealousy of their designs and operations, they seem studiously to have depreciated the country, by representing the climate as so disagreeable and unwholesome, and the soil as so barren, that nothing but a zealous desire of converting the natives could have induced them to settle there."¹ As a Protestant and a foreigner, little else could be expected from the Principal of the Edinburgh University; but, inasmuch as he goes out of his way to misrepresent the statement of a Catholic writer, he shows the motive by which he was influenced. Father Miguel Venegas, on whose authority he has stated the above, has not a word about the insalubrity or unwholesomeness of the climate, as stated by Robertson.²

As error is more readily credited and propagated than truth, the evil report no sooner got

(1) *Hist. America*: Robertson, book 7, p. 75.

(2) *Venegas*: vol. I., p. 26.

abroad than many believed, because the Fathers were masters of the country, they must necessarily be in the possession of fabulous wealth. The former accounts of the country, and the really valuable pearls that had been obtained by several persons, augmented and confirmed these malicious reports. Nor, indeed, would this be so much to be lamented had it not tended from the outset to materially injure religion by cooling the ardor and fervor of those who were so liberally contributing in behalf of the missions. The natural consequence attending the decrease of the pious donations on the part of the faithful, was the utter inability of the missionaries to maintain any longer in the country the European portion of the community. Hence, with the exception of a dozen soldiers, who voluntarily remained as a guard that the Fathers might not be entirely abandoned, the others were ordered to return to Mexico. At the same time the baptism of the catechumens was deferred, nothing being certain regarding the future of the mission. The perilous and utterly destitute state of the missionaries at this juncture may be judged from the following extract of a letter from Father Tierra—the superior of the mission—to his friend, the Solicitor of Guadalajara. After acquainting him with the discharge of the soldiers, and the reasons which necessitated it, he adds: “But for the discharge of the remainder I only await the resolution of the Mexican Council, to

which I have sent my final appeal. After the entire withdrawal of the soldiers we shall consult about liquidating the arrears; and if, for want of a military force, our Californian sons should send us to give an account to our God, our Lady of Loretto will undoubtedly look to our debts."

All hope of Government aid being now entirely precarious, while the wants of the garrisons became more urgently pressing, Father Ugarte, the agent of the missions at Mexico, collected what private contributions he could and hastened to the relief of his brethren, whom he found in the utmost despondency and want. Three days after his arrival they were further relieved by the arrival of a vessel laden with provisions, which he had dispatched to their aid a little before.

The slowness and indifference of Government in supplying the Fathers with the necessary means of support; the growing apathy and lukewarmness of the subscribers, on account of the above mentioned reason, as well as the difficulty, delay and uncertainty of obtaining provisions from the opposite coast, compelled the venerable missionaries to seek other and more reliable means of support. At the opposite side of the Gulf, in the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa, where missions were established, the land was partially tilled. There were also in that region several mines wherein Spaniards were employed. To this, though a poor and unreliable source, Father Tierra turned his

eyes when all other means were denied. Landing on the opposite coast he hastened, without any delay, to join his brother Religious, Father Kühno, who, as we have seen in a previous chapter, in common with Fathers Copart and Goni, had laid the foundations of the Californian missions. Like Father Tierra, Father Kühno was a man of the most generous mind and the noblest ideas. The spiritual conquest of the natives as far north as the present limits of Upper California was the holy and praiseworthy design of those zealous, indefatigable souls. That they did not accomplish the whole of their purpose is not to be attributed to them as a fault, but to the impolicy and injustice of Government in driving them from the country at a moment when their influence was being extensively felt, and when they had a well-grounded hope of accomplishing all.

As the spiritual conquest of California was as much an object of desire to the one as the other of these venerable men, it may be easily imagined how readily the latter entered into the feelings of the former, and hastened with all his endeavors to supply the wants of his brethren. But, as the cause of the distress was likely to remain unless other and more precautionary measures were taken, it was proposed to open a means of communication by land with the missions on both sides of the Gulf. But, as it was not then very certainly known that California was a peninsula, it was re-

solved that Father Kühno should make an examination of the coast, and establish beyond doubt the fact of its being a portion of the main land or not. Father Tierra was also to accompany him on the journey. On the 1st of March, 1701, they started on their expedition, and after a march of twenty days arrived at the junction of the land.

Satisfied with the object of their inquiry, they returned, the one to his mission in Sonora, and the other to collect funds for his Californian brethren; a work in which he was engaged for some weeks, when he returned to his people. The joy occasioned by the Father's arrival at the garrison with the opportune aid, was speedily followed by the darkest and most gloomy forebodings. Indeed, it appeared to be the lot of these venerable men to be ever destined to suffer from one cause or another. Coldness, indifference and neglect were, as we have seen, the reward they received from the Government; misrepresentation and calumny from their secular brethren, and dangers and perils from the natives. Well, indeed, might they say with the Apostle: "In journeying often, in perils of water, in perils of robbers, in perils from my own nation; in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren."¹

When their lives were not threatened by famine,

(1) *Second Cor.*: chap. xi, v. 26.

they were in danger from Indians, and that not unfrequently at times when the means at their disposal seemed utterly inadequate to avert the calamity. In the newly-formed mission of Vigge Biabundo, the natives, instigated by the sorcerers, resolved upon murdering the Father, and destroying the settlement; in this they were fortunately disappointed by the resistance they met with from some of their own, who remained faithful to the Fathers. On a second attempt, however, they unhappily succeeded in destroying the church and the presbytery; losses which, though very considerable, were only a trifle when compared with the safety of the Religious. As this Mission was regarded by the Fathers as very important, the land there being remarkably adapted to agricultural purposes, it was deemed proper, and in some measure necessary, to restore it to its former condition. Its reorganization was intrusted to the care of the the Rev. Father Ugarte, as Father Piccolo had to proceed to New Spain on business connected with the mission.

To secure himself against any sudden attack, he deemed it advisable to take with him as a guard some of the troops; but, as these became troublesome and insolent, he dispensed with their services, and committed himself entirely to the protection of Providence, a proceeding which at once reveals his strong confidence in God, and his great zeal for the salvation of the people. The

natives on seeing the soldiers, imagining they had come to punish their crime, fled precipitately to the mountains, but when the military had departed, they returned gradually to the mission, and after a little, the Father had the pleasure of seeing himself surrounded by the former congregation, many of whom had unhappily the weakness of joining the gentiles in their attack on the church. In reorganizing the mission, Father Ugarte had a double object in view. The first was to instill into the minds of the savages an elementary notion of the Christian religion, by inducing them to be present at the offices of religion; second, to accustom them to the cultivation of the land and the tending of the flocks, for he saw that the success of the missions, as a whole, and, indeed, for that matter, the introduction of Christianity into the country at all, depended exclusively on the internal resources of the peninsula, and not being necessitated to rely upon precarious supplies from the coast of New Spain.

Up to this period, it is important to know that nothing was raised in the country; the clothes and provisions requisite for the settlers being brought from the opposite coast, a course which was frequently attended with danger and delay. Nor must it be supposed that the Fathers were at fault in not attending to this want, for, at the mission of Loretto, the ground was so unsuited for tillage, that, with the exception of a garden for

vegetables, they were unable to raise any crops; while, as regarded the other localities, the natives were unwilling at first to labor at their request. It was, then, to supply this serious defect, and thus place the mission on something like a permanent basis, that Father Tierra sought to accustom the people to work; but as his individual labors directed to this end would be only of trifling account, unless joined by the Indians, he was necessitated to use every means in his power to gain them over to his views.

For the accomplishment of this, there was required all the prudence and zeal of an Apostle, for the sloth and indifference of the people were most difficult to overcome. An idea of the Father's exertions and difficulties may be had from the following: In the morning, after the holy sacrifice of the Mass, at which all were required to be present, he distributed the pozzoli, and set the people to work. Some were appointed for clearing and preparing the ground; others were engaged in making the flumes for the conveyance of water; while others, again, were allotted for digging the soil and planting the trees. To secure a uniform attention, and induce all to engage in their respective employments, the Father had to give the example, and continue engaged, else they would presently slacken, and lapse into their accustomed indifference and natural sloth. In reality, the missionary was the hardest and severest

worked member of the community. Now, he was to be seen fetching the stones for the building, mixing the mortar, or hewing the wood; again, digging the ground, splitting the rocks, or herding the cattle. He had to teach by example rather than precept; nor was this always sufficient, for, owing to the very limited ideas of the people, and the natural dullness of their understanding, joined to their constitutional sloth, and abhorrence of work, they could not or would not enter entirely into his views. So great was the difficulty he had to encounter, in this particular alone, that nothing but the most apostolic virtue, the greatest meekness, affability and gravity, could enable him to keep them together. Repeatedly would they violate every rule set for their observance, either by coming too late, refusing to do what was commanded, or running away when it suited their purpose; while some went even so far as to conspire against the life of the venerable man. But patience, meekness and zeal, finally overcame their evil propensities, and succeeded in forming them into an obedient, docile and tractable people.

Life at the mission, in those days, was simple and uniform. The mornings were spent as has been related. In the evening, after the labors were ended, all the community, native and European, Christian and catechumen, assembled in the church for evening devotions; which consisted of the ordinary prayers, the rosary, and an explana-

tion of some point of our holy religion; after which they retired for the night. At first, the conduct of the natives, during the catechetical instruction, was anything but respectful. The mistakes, into which the Father was accustomed to fall, in the pronunciation of the vernacular, were the cause of their mirth; which, when he came to understand, he readily corrected the defects. In the beginning, however, he attributed their merriment to a different cause; and, as they were not to be restrained by entreaties, he determined to see what impression a lesson of fear might produce. Near him, and among the most troublesome during the sermon, was a chief, remarkable for his great physical strength and for his authority among the people. Leaning over the pulpit, Father Ugarte, who was a powerful man, seized the chief by the hair of the head, lifted him from the ground, and swung him from side to side, in the presence of the people—a proceeding which so alarmed the people as to produce the contemplated effect.

In a few years, this venerable missionary had the gratification of witnessing the first fruits of his labors. Many were brought to a knowledge of the Christian religion—reclaimed from their wild and barbarous state, and brought to live without any of the disorders or irregularities which had hitherto marked their existence. On the other hand, he had succeeded in supplying all their tem-

poral wants, with plentiful harvests of different cereals—a result not easily appreciated, considering the barrenness of the soil of Lower California, and the very inhospitable character of the country in general; which, even yet, under modern skill and modern appliances, has failed to produce any important supplies. The Father's energy and ability also enabled him to produce considerable quantities of wine, a portion of which he exported to New Spain, in exchange for the more necessary articles. Still remaining was another requirement. Those who had hitherto roamed naked through the land had to be provided with clothes and thus taught the first elementary principles of virtue and civilization. To this end, in order to provide them with the necessary garments, he imported a number of sheep from the opposite coast. The preparation of the wool, the spinning and weaving of it into pieces, and its further adaptation to the requirements of the people, were entirely his work. He it was who formed the distaffs, the wheels, the looms, and everything connected with the manufacture of the cloth. If later on, he saw the advantage and importance of employing mechanical aid, for forwarding and improving so beneficial a scheme, the credit is no less due to himself, for having originated the work and brought it to tolerable perfection.

The zeal and assiduity of Father Ugarte in thus providing for the material requirements of the

people is deserving of the highest commendation, not merely because of the works in themselves as showing forth his charity and benevolence of purpose, but especially because of their close and intimate connection with the existence and progress of religion in the country. The great evil, as has been remarked, under which the first missions had to labor was the want of the necessary means of support—a difficulty which could only be successfully combated by producing the requisite supplies within the peninsula itself. This was the more plainly to be seen during the years 1701 and 1702, when, in consequence of an unusual drought, and the failure of the arrival of the expected provisions, the mission was placed in the most imminent danger. At first the garrison had to exist on limited fare, but when all was consumed they were necessitated to live on the little the country afforded—roots, berries and shell-fish. As an aggravation of their misfortune an insurrection broke out among the Indians, by which the lives of the Spaniards were placed in the most imminent danger.

The mission of Father Piccolo to New Spain, of which I have spoken above, was not without its important advantages. By his frequent and earnest representations he succeeded in obtaining from Government the payment of the sum assigned by his Majesty for the conquest of the country and also the establishment by private donations of

four additional missions. The great number of missionaries then required for the missions of Mexico and New Spain prevented him from obtaining more than two additional laborers for the Californian coast. The arrival of the Father with his confreres, on the 28th of October, changed the entire aspect of affairs, and infused new life into the garrison and the Spaniards in general. The opportune presence of a friend is never so acceptable and calculated to elicit an exuberance of joy as when life and religion are made to depend upon his arrival.

With their new reinforcements and the promises made by the members of Government, their hopes were increased and their fears almost entirely allayed. They accordingly entered upon larger and higher designs for the conversion of the people. In a council held on the occasion it was determined that Father Ugarte should proceed to New Spain for the purchase of cattle to be employed in the service of the mission for journeying to the different stations, as well as for supplying the necessary means of support. Meantime Father Tierra, accompanied by some of his men, made excursions into the interior seeking new tribes and localities suitable for the establishment of missions. The greater part of the country he found to be uninhabited, but in one particular locality they came upon a body of the natives, who, no sooner observed them, than they precipitately fled from their

presence. In another part of the mountains, about a hundred miles from the mission, they came on another rancheria, or camp, where the people in like manner mistaking their intention, regarded them at first in the character of enemies, and prepared to defend themselves against their apparent hostility; but, on learning their real intention and the true nature of their visit, they presently changed their attitude of defiance and received them with kindness and affection.

The reader will not have forgotten that the second establishment formed by the Fathers was the mission of St. Xavier, in the country of the Viggi. This mission, as has been related, was destroyed by the savages, but re-established under considerable difficulty by the zealous and untiring exertions of the Rev. Father Ugarte. Its subsequent flourishing state, however,—the quiet and steady progress made by the Father in reclaiming the people and the soil—was no sufficient protection against ultimate dangers. The fickleness and inconstancy of the savages were ever a subject of alarm for the Religious. No amount of kindness, benevolence and sacrifice procured them an immunity against sudden attacks. Instigated by the evil advice of the leader of the former rebellion, a body of the Pagans fell suddenly upon the mission, and massacred all who happened to fall in their way. To look on with indifference and allow such an act of wanton barbarity to pass without its merited pun-

ishment, would be under the circumstances entirely impolitic and highly injurious to the interests of religion; for, if the immediate result of embracing the Christian religion was imminent, or probable danger of death, the progress of truth was certain to be seriously injured. It was therefore resolved that an example should be made of the rebels, and that they be taught to understand that their murderous deeds would not be permitted to pass without an adequate punishment. Pursuant to this resolution the Pagans were surprised in their camp, and some of them made to suffer for the cruel and barbarous massacre of the Christians. The leader artfully managed to escape for the moment, but was afterward taken and given up to the authorities, by whom he was made to suffer the penalty of death for his crime—a punishment certainly not beyond his deserts when it is remembered that he had several times compassed the death of the Father and his followers; that he was the author of the destruction of the chapel and mission in the first instance, and had finally excited his countrymen to fall upon and massacre all the Christian communities. It is only just, however, to the memory of the Fathers to state that they had no hand in his death; they even pleaded for his life, begging that the sentence might be changed into banishment from the country, but to this the military commander was unwilling to listen—a course which the circumstances

seem to have demanded. The consequence of this merited chastisement was the peace of the missions and the security of the Christians for a considerable time.

During the tranquillity that succeeded this violent outburst on the part of the Pagans, new and favorable opportunities were offered the Fathers for extending the field of their labors. The evil dispositions of some was no reason why the Religious should slacken in their endeavors to gain the country to God. The truly zealous and apostolic missionary is not checked in his career of benevolence by the crimes and atrocities of the multitude. New missions had already to be founded, the old ones were not sufficiently accessible to all; religion had to be presented to every tribe; and in order to this, the Fathers examined the country in every direction, with the view of determining the most eligible places for the foundation of the contemplated missions. While thus prosecuting their pious intentions, an occurrence took place which, while it afforded an opportunity for an exercise of Christian benevolence, proved very embarrassing to the Religious.

In order to avoid a series of inconveniences foreseen by the missionaries, it had been strictly prohibited to all without a license from Government and the sanction of the local authorities, to resort to the California coast for the purpose of fishing for pearls. Contrary to this positive order, some bold

and adventurous spirits were found to embark in the work; and, in a storm which happened at the time, it occurred that some of their number were wrecked on the coast; a circumstance which, while it necessitated the exercise of charity, so crippled the Fathers' resources, at best only limited, as to reduce them to a very inadequate quantity. This was at the close of 1703. The following year opened upon the Religious with the gloomiest and most anxious forebodings. Father Piccolo did what lay in his power, by forwarding supplies from the opposite coast, but his efforts were entirely inadequate to provide for such a considerable number.

Meantime, another of the Religious, Father Bassaldua, proceeded to Mexico, to solicit the aid of the Government authorities, but in this he was doomed to disappointment. The year previous, a memorial had been presented to the Court of Madrid, setting forth the spiritual and temporal advantages to be gained by the missions, and requesting his Majesty to encourage the work. The memorial was read before the council of ministers, and resulted most favorably for the Fathers. On the twenty-eighth of September, 1703, the royal signature was put to the warrant, of which the following is the substance. By the first clause of the document, it was ordered that the supplies hitherto granted to the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora, on the opposite coast, be henceforth trans-

ferred to the California missions. The second made provision for the furnishing of the necessary articles required for the use of the Religious in the newly-erected missions. By the third, the viceroy was commanded to establish on the coast, as far north as was possible, a military post, with the view of protecting the Philippine vessels, which, as we have stated, were the great object of British buccaneer ambition in those days. Lastly, a vessel was ordered to be purchased for the use of the mission, and an annual sum of seven thousand dollars to be paid out of the treasury of Guadalajara, independent of the six thousand dollars already assigned for that purpose. The other terms of the warrant were merely of a congratulatory nature, and, as such, deserve no particular mention. The authorities in Mexico received the instructions on the eleventh of April, 1704, but faithful to their hereditary policy, they were not wanting in finding means to evade them, though, on the mere ground of humanity, independent of his Majesty's pleasure, they were bound to have hastened to the relief of their Californian brethren. On the plea of being obliged to employ the resources at the disposal of government on works of greater importance, the claims and the cries of the perishing settlers were entirely unheeded by the Mexican government.

CHAPTER XIII.

CRITICAL CONDITION OF THE FATHERS FOR WANT OF PROVISIONS.—ARRIVAL OF SUPPLIES.—DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF LORETTO.—FATHER TIERRA APPOINTED VISITOR OF THE MISSIONS OF SONORA AND SINALOA.—UNGENEROUS ACTION OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT.—THE DUKE OF LINARES.—DIFFICULTIES IN ESTABLISHING NEW MISSIONS.—FATHER JOHN UGARTE'S ZEAL FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE PEOPLE.—HE SURVEYS THE COAST.—LOSS OF A VESSEL.—PREJUDICE OF THE NATIVES AGAINST THE FATHERS.

THE close of the seventeenth and the commencement of the eighteenth centuries were perilous periods in the history of Spain. The death of Charles II., in 1700, and his appointment of Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV., as sole heir to the Spanish dominions, involved the nation in a long and expensive war. England, Germany and Holland opposed the arrangement, and contested the validity of Charles' will, but eventually came to acknowledge the claims of the Sovereign. During the entire period that the struggle was continued, his Majesty stood in need of all the resources at the command of the crown. It is only reasonable to suppose that the Mexican government was anxious to render all the assistance in its power, by contributing as largely as its resources would permit. Hence the neglect of Californian interests, though it is also equally true that the jealousy and antipathy of ministers had

something to do in withholding the necessary aid. Be it, however, attributable to one cause or the other, neither of which is a justification of the Government's course, the result was equally unhappy to the well-being of the missions.

As an aggravation of the Christians' misfortunes, at this particular time the vessels which were dispatched to the Mexican coast for a supply of provisions, were obliged to return, on account of the boisterous state of the sea. The utter destitution to which this unexpected event finally reduced the entire garrison, made it a matter of consideration with the Fathers whether they should not return the troops, and rely for their own personal subsistence on the protection of Him who provides for the wants and requirements of all. As far as the Religious themselves were concerned, having come to the country to labor, and, if necessary, to die for the savages, they were determined under the most unfavorable circumstances to remain with their people. But such a resolution, however laudable and praiseworthy, was not to be forced on the members of the garrison, inasmuch as it would deprive them of the glory and merit of dying in so noble a cause. Hence, it was left optional with them either to return immediately to Mexico, or to take the probable chances of perishing in the cause of religion, in common with the missionaries. Accordingly, in a council held on the occasion, Father Tierra, after declaring his

determination to remain in the country at every hazard, addressed the military in substance as follows : He had no need of pointing out to them the melancholy state of affairs, and the imminent danger in which they were placed. To him, however, they were aware that no fault was to be attributed, for he had done all in his power to avert the calamity. If the supplies assigned by his Majesty, and expected from Government, had not been obtained, that was not to be imputed to him. The question, then, they were called upon to determine was whether they would abandon the place, retire to the coast of New Spain, and there await a more favorable opportunity for returning to the conquest of the country. The other Religious having expressed themselves conformably to this, it was then the moment for the soldiers to speak, and, to their honor and praise be it said, that they all to a man unanimously declared that they would stand by the Fathers, and die for religion, if necessary, under the shadow of the Cross! Noble and generous resolve, worthy of the chivalrous sons of Catholic Spain! the first champions of the religion of the Redeemer in this part of the world.

To supply their natural wants, or at least to prolong their existence as far as was possible, in the hope that aid might arrive, they had now to betake themselves to the country, in search of the little that Nature, in her wildest and barrenest

state, might be able to afford them. A melancholy but edifying spectacle it was to behold the venerable missionary Fathers, with their converts and soldiers, roaming through the land in search of berries and roots rather than abandon, even for a time, the post to which religion had called them. Acts such as these are rarely recorded of any, but certainly never except of the Catholic missionary. The heroic patience, however, displayed by the missionaries on this occasion, and their devoted adherence to the cause of religion, was not the most remarkable feature in their character. In the very midst of their poverty, when nothing but the strongest reliance on the providence of God could have influenced them to look hopefully to the future, Father Tierra, and his venerable confreres, were even then actually contemplating the extension of their missionary labors in the establishment of an additional mission.

About the commencement of July, Fathers Tierra and Ugarte, accompanied by a soldier and two Indians, and living as best they could on the little sustenance afforded them by nature, set out on a tour of inspection and had the gratification of finding a place and a tribe in every way according to their desires. The people were most anxious that the Fathers should remain in their country, but as the difficulties under which they were then laboring would not suffer them to commence the erection of a church and the other necessary build-

ings, they merely took possession of the place by the baptism of a number of children voluntarily offered by the parents. As if to reward them for this extraordinary charity and zeal in so holy a cause, the Almighty sent to their aid the necessary long-expected supplies. We will not here enter into the feelings of the Religious and of the garrison on the arrival of the vessel with the provisions. Their patience and devotion were at length crowned with success; though not in reality, they were in affection, martyrs of charity in the noblest of causes. To the trials and hardships of the past succeeded the abundance and security of the present. Roots, pithahayas and berries were no longer required to support their existence. The sad and gloomy forebodings which for so long had hung over their minds had given way to the most favorable and joyful anticipations. The entire situation was changed; the succor of their temporal wants was to be followed by a feast of spiritual joy. At the end of September, on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mother of God, the new church of Loretto was dedicated amidst the greatest rejoicing, and to add to the solemnity, several adults were baptized on the occasion.

Father Tierra, having been appointed at this time minister of the missions of Sinaloa and Sonora, was obliged to take leave of his Californian friends for a little. On his arrival in Mexico he found, to

his regret, that he had been appointed to the position of Provincial by his brethren. Though entirely unwilling to accept so important an office, especially as it would necessitate his absence from the scene of his missionary labors, yet in obedience to the voice of authority he entered at once on his spiritual charge. His separation from California did not prevent him from aiding the progress of religion. Shortly after his arrival in Mexico he waited upon his excellency the Viceroy, and represented to him the propriety of carrying out the royal command regarding the provision made for the missions. As there were then no hopes of a junta assembling, the Father prepared a memorial relating to the royal instructions and had it presented to the Governor. In the document he took occasion to show the impossibility of subsisting in the country unless aided more liberally by Government. At that moment the missions were only in possession of one little bark, for the transport of the necessary supplies, which even granting it were not attended by danger at sea was manifestly inadequate for all their requirements. He therefore was led to expect that the members of council would see the propriety and necessity of making more ample and securer provision for future contingencies. He also took occasion to bring under the notice of the council that up to that time, a period of seven years, the entire Government aid received by the Fathers had only

amounted to eighteen thousand dollars, or three thousand six hundred pounds, while the private donations and subscriptions expended on the six missions then established, showed an outlay of no less than one hundred and eighty-three thousand dollars. He then continued to state that, in consequence of the poverty and barrenness of the soil, they would for several years have to depend in a great measure on a regular supply of provisions from abroad—a circumstance which necessitated for a time a considerable outlay. In fine, he begged to state for the information of his Majesty's advisers that the crown was then in possession of an extent of territory of no less than one hundred leagues in circumference, and in such peaceful subjection that it might be traversed by any one without the slightest impediment.

The memorial was laid before the Assembly on the 27th of June, but the only result of its reading was, that a report should be sent to his Majesty, and his pleasure consulted. That it was more with the view of evading the question, than of consulting the king, the council had acted, seems clear from the fact that the resolution of Government was not communicated to Spain for nearly three quarters of a year after that date. And when, in due course, the royal assent was obtained, even then the claims of the Father were left in abeyance. After adducing the hereditary reasons for not carrying out the royal instruction—that is,

the exhausted state of the treasury, and the consequent inability of meeting any further demands—the council resolved that, as the memorial contained several points on which his Majesty's pleasure was not expressly declared, it would be well to re-forward the document to Spain, and await a reply. In 1709, the memorial was returned to Mexico, after receiving the royal assent; but, even then, on the ground that it was necessary to have the consent of the General Assembly, the payment was further delayed. Meantime, the Viceroy continued in office, but was succeeded the following year by the Duke of Linares, a nobleman of a very virtuous disposition, and strongly attached to the interests of the Fathers. Being left for a time unacquainted with the monarch's instructions respecting the missions, the newly-appointed Governor was unable, in his capacity of Viceroy, to hasten to the relief of the Religious. From his own private resources, however, he aided them as far as he could, and even solicited subscriptions in behalf of the missions from several of his personal friends. As a further proof of his affection and zeal in behalf of religion, at the expiration of his viceroyalty, when preparing to return to Spain, he willed the one third of his property, in case of his death, to the support of the Californian church.

While matters were thus slowly proceeding at Mexico, every artifice being employed by the agents of government to counteract or evade the

royal commands, the Fathers were equally zealous in seeking to meet, by private donations, the necessary wants. They were also most zealous in extending, according to their limited means, the sphere of their ministry. During the time that Fathers Piccolo and Tierra were soliciting subscriptions on the opposite coast, Fathers Peter and John Ugarte were occupied, the one in learning the language, and the other in clearing the ground preparatory to forming a new mission. They had also made several journeys into the interior, preached the Divine word, and induced several tribes to form into villages, and to accept the first rudiments of the Christian religion. Meantime, at the missions of Loretto and St. Xavier, the usual exercises of religion were being performed, and so favorably that, on the return of Father Tierra, the establishment of two additional missions was taken into immediate consideration. But, as there were then only *three priests* in the country, a difficulty was experienced; not such, however, as to materially interfere with the project, for a lay-brother, who had just come to the mission, supplied the necessity. This excellent man, of whom we shall afterward speak, was subsequently raised to the priesthood, and accomplished much for the interests of religion. In accordance with the Father-provincial's instructions, the contemplated missions were immediately begun, their organization having been entrusted to Fathers Peter Ugarte and Manuel de Bassaldo.

The savages being unaccustomed, in their native condition, to every convenience and social enjoyment, the establishment of missions among them was attended with the greatest discomfort. Exposure to the inclemency of the weather, meager and unwholesome food, and constant, unremitting physical exertions were, in these cases, the ordinary lot of the Religious. Invariably, while engaged in laying the foundations of the settlements, their only protection from the powerful action of the sun during the day, and of the cold at night, was that afforded them by a rude little hut; for, in every case, they directed their attentions in the first instance to the formation of a chapel for their Heavenly Master. The difficulties that Father Ugarte met with from the sloth and the indifference of the natives, were greater and more embarrassing than one would readily believe. Seeing that all his endeavors were unavailing to induce the older members of the tribe to engage in the work, he had recourse to the boys, whom he allured by presents and sweetmeats to join him in the work. A holy and edifying spectacle, indeed, it must have been, for the people to have witnessed this venerable and devoted Religious thus laboring with the young in laying the foundation of his contemplated mission. And, as children are often incited to the performance of duty by motives of rivalry, the Father laid hold of this means and adapted it to his purpose. At

times, he would wager with the little ones who would be first in clearing the ground, and removing the shrubs; at others, he would offer rewards for transporting the earth and forming the bricks; while again, he would gain their assistance by making the work a source of amusement and pleasure to all. "The Father used to take off his sandals," says Father Venegas, "and tread upon the clay, in which he was followed by the boys, skipping and dancing; the boys sung, and were highly delighted—the Father also sung, and thus they continued, dancing and treading the clay in different parts, till meal-time."

Thus it was that Father Ugarte succeeded in constructing his little temporary church, thereby evincing a spirit of simplicity and of practical piety in vain to be sought but in the life of an apostle. No wonder that such labors and exertions should have been blessed with more than an ordinary measure of success. And, indeed, such was the fact, for after a little this zealous apostle had the pleasure of admitting to baptism several of this tribe, thus happily reaping the first fruits of his labors.

While congratulating himself on the success of his labors, an occurrence took place which greatly endangered his life and those of his followers. Happening to be sent for to administer the last sacrament to a person in danger of death, he found on his arrival a sorcerer, or pagan religious, whom

he immediately obliged to depart, rebuking at the same time the convert and her friends for having permitted such an act. The Christians, either mistaking his meaning or desirous of giving a practical proof of their sorrow, immediately followed and slew the unfortunate man, for which, when sternly rebuked by the Father, they turned their anger on himself, and would also have deprived him of life had they not been deterred by his coolness and intrepidity of manner. Happening to learn by accident that the people were preparing to kill him, he immediately sent for the leaders, and with an air of resolution and determination addressed them somewhat as follows: "I am aware of your wicked designs. I know you have formed the resolution of killing me to-night. With this musket (pointing to an old carbine) I will slaughter you all, if you make the attempt. Go then, abandon your purpose and quickly repent for having conceived so nefarious a purpose." The address was effective, it produced the expected result; the Indians were exceedingly terrified, and so far from attacking the Father, they abandoned the mission that night and refused to return until assured by the missionary that he loved them as children. From this, which was only one of a number of similar instances, it can be readily seen how precarious and uncertain were the lives of the missionaries. Owing to the people's natural ferocity, their stupidity and fickle disposition, neither zeal,

patience or long-standing amongst them offered any protection against sudden attack. In fact the missionaries' lives were ever at stake, and sometimes unhappily forfeited, as will appear further on.

While Father Ugarte was engaged, as we have stated, in founding his mission in the face of the greatest and most unusual difficulties, both moral and physical, Father Manuel Bassaldo was also engaged in establishing his, but under more favorable and agreeable circumstances. The great difficulty this Father encountered at first was the formation of a road from the garrison to the mission, a distance of *one hundred miles* through a woody, mountainous country. So rugged, uneven and hilly was the land that it was with the greatest difficulty the Father was enabled to form a way for himself and his companions. But once the natural difficulties surmounted, his labors were of a more agreeable kind than those of his brother Religious. The people in this section of the country were of a better and more lively disposition, less variable and fickle in their habits, and consequently better adapted for the reception and profession of truth. For four years, till necessitated by sickness to leave for a time, the Father remained at this place, instructing the people, reclaiming them from their savage existence, and teaching them the knowledge and worship of God. He was succeeded in his charge by Father Francis Piccolo,

a man of equally remarkable virtues, whose zeal in behalf of the natives showed itself especially in the preaching of the word, and the conquest of souls effected in different parts of the country. The fruits of his labors were especially noticeable in the great number of communicants at the festivals of Easter and at different times through the course of the year.

Although the lives of the last mentioned missionaries present us with many rare and singular virtues, they do not show forth so clearly and emphatically the character of the missionary as that of the Rev. John Ugarte, to whom the venerable Father Tierra was wont to give the name of Apostle. Father John Ugarte was one of those rare and eminent men who are ever foremost in every noble and meritorious employment. He left the impress of his zeal and ability on every work he engaged in; and his success was certainly in keeping with his energy and devotion. Ever on the alert for an opportunity for advancing the interests of religion, his thoughtful, active, zealous mind never suffered him to rest for a moment. Now admonishing, reclaiming, instructing the ignorant; now administering the sacraments of the church, or attending to the temporal concerns of the mission—laboring in the fields, working on the buildings, repairing the roads, or preparing the vessels for sea—in each and every capacity, he joined to the sweetness and mildness of the saint the activity

and energy of the missionary. To such an extent did he succeed in reclaiming this naturally lazy and indolent people, and in bringing them to observe a system of order, that they even submitted at his command to the penalties enjoined, and accepted the merited punishment due to a violation of the rules of the mission. To the children, however, it was that he gave the greatest share of attention, knowing that they were more susceptible of religious impressions, and more likely to influence the coming generation. But his zeal and devotion were not unfrequently richly rewarded, even in the pious and virtuous sentiments of the aged, at the moment of death. As an instance, this may serve as an example: In the hospital under his care for the spiritual and temporal comfort of the afflicted, was a native, whose death was remarkable for virtue. Repeatedly would he enter with his confessor into the particulars of his former confessions, and beg him to come and assist him by prayer. So genuine and heartfelt was his sorrow for his former transgressions, that he frequently manifested his willingness to die in that sickness, lest he should unhappily return to his former excesses, and thus peril his eternal salvation. Thus piously and holily inclined, he approached the end of his earthly career, took leave of his friends, bid adieu to the Father, and with sentiments of the liveliest confidence in the goodness and mercy of God, resigned himself into the hands of his

Maker. Another instance, of a similar kind, was that of a sorcerer, who was brought to a knowledge of God by the kindness shown to his son by the Father. At first, he had the strongest natural repugnance to learn the principles of our holy religion. His office, position, self-interest and associations strongly opposed his design. Throwing open his soul, however, to the influence of Divine grace, he finally submitted to the yoke of religion, received the holy sacrament of baptism, and became a model of piety, spending the greater part of his time in the exercise of devotion till the hour of his death. Another still more remarkable instance of the goodness and mercy of God in enlightening the blind and calling sinners to repentance, was witnessed in the case of an enemy of the cross, who, for a considerable time, had been embittering the minds of the gentiles against the Christian religion. From what cause his repentance arose we are not given to learn; but, with tears in his eyes and solemn promises of amendment on his lips, he voluntarily presented himself at the door of the church, promising never to return to his gentile companions, and earnestly begging to be admitted to baptism. Father Ugarte, seeing the entire change of his life, and the truly virtuous disposition by which he was animated, immediately admitted him to the sacrament, conferring on him the name of the great doctor of Milan, on whose festival he was added to the ranks

of the faithful. That the Father was not deceived in his judgment regarding his truly virtuous sentiments appeared later on, from the fact that from then till the moment of death, which happened soon after, he evinced the most evident marks of being specially called to the faith by the goodness and mercy of God.

Father Ugarte now made arrangements for surveying the southern coast. On the 26th of November, 1706, he set out, accompanied by a small number of troops and some Indians. The difficulties he had to contend with were not confined to the character of the country or the dangers to be encountered from barbarous tribes, but extended to the necessary means of existence—the only provision for water being wells dug by the natives in the sand, and which were often unequal to the wants of the company. After marching several leagues they were from this cause placed in the most imminent danger of death. Unable to find the necessary supply, they resolved upon retracing their steps through the interior of the country, hoping to find in the mountains the aid that was denied them on the coast. In this, however, their hopes were but slight, for the parched aspect of the land and the well-known absence of rain, made it very precarious whether it would not be their misfortune to fail in discovering a rivulet or spring on the way. Depressed in mind and body, they traveled a considerable distance through the in-

terior of the country without finding the object of their search. At length they arrived at the dry bed of a river, which in vain they examined in both directions. Thus disappointed, exhausted and dying of thirst, they resigned themselves into the hands of the Lord. Another four-and-twenty hours of like disappointment, and some, if not all, would certainly have succumbed to their fate. Before making a final attempt, on the morning of their greatest distress, the Father began by offering the holy sacrifice of the Mass to beg the Almighty to hasten to their aid. The Mass was that of the Immaculate Conception. All earnestly joined with the Father in supplicating the Deity to hasten to their relief. The holy sacrifice ended, the Litany was commenced, but before being finished an Indian came running to the camp crying: "Water, water!" At a short distance a little well, sufficient to satisfy the wants of the company, was found, and what was especially remarkable was that on the day previous, while search was being made in every direction, several had passed by that place without being able to observe any appearance of water. Whether it was a miraculous supply afforded them by Providence, or a natural spring to which they were propitiously directed, I leave to the judgment of the reader to determine, but in either supposition the providence of God seems clearly displayed.

Father Salva Tierra, whose appointment as Provincial of the Society in Mexico, we have spoken

of above, obtained permission at this time to return to the country. On leaving California he took with him five of his converts in order to enable them to form a higher idea of the splendor and magnificence of religion, so that upon their return they might be able to give an account of the same to their brethren at home. Contrary to his expectations the five natives, in consequence of the change of food and climate, fell sick upon his hands and had to be sent back to the country. During the voyage one of them was seized with a mortal illness, but exhibited the greatest humility and resignation to the divine will during his sufferings. He even most fervently prayed that the Almighty might remove him from life before reaching California, if his services were no longer required upon earth—a desire in which he was gratified, for before the end of the voyage he was called by the Lord to the reward of the just.

That the people were in many instances brought to a high sense of religion, and exhibited in their lives many rare and singular virtues, we are not to be astonished considering the truly admirable and apostolic spirit with which the missionary Fathers were animated. In their zeal for the salvation of souls, they were entirely unmindful of self. The case of Father Mayarga is an instance of this. Prostrated by sickness, it was deemed necessary to remove him to the coast of New Spain; but, on learning the determination of his brethren, he so earn-

estly begged to be permitted to die in the country that he obtained his request. And as it would seem to reward his fidelity the Almighty restored him to health and enabled him to labor for several subsequent years in behalf of his flock. In the centre of the mountains, some ninety or a hundred miles from the principal mission, it was that this truly virtuous and zealous apostle fixed his abode, and established a mission to the patriarch Joseph. His constitution soon became accustomed to the hardships of the place, and his natural strength was restored by degrees.

By patience, prayer and unwearied exertions he succeeded in inducing the greater part of the savages of that special locality to abandon their wandering life, and to settle down at and in the vicinity of his mission. His charity and zeal for the necessities of all showed themselves in different ways. A seminary for the boys, another for the girls, and an hospital for the infirm, were among the evidences of his goodness and benevolence of mind. His spiritual functions were discharged with such profit and advantage to his people that we are told it was most pleasing and agreeable to observe the devotion and religious deportment of his little community. Nor was his mind entirely engaged with those in his immediate locality. Around in every direction were numerous tribes whose souls had never been illumined by the faintest ray of gospel truth. Salvation to them through

the Redeemer was an unmeaning expression; they had never heard of the Saviour of the world. No wonder then that the heart of that venerable man should be touched at their state and filled with compassion for their unhappy condition. But the losses sustained by the mission at this time put it entirely out of his power to hasten to their aid, however important and necessary he may have deemed the establishment of a mission amongst them. A vessel, the *San Xavier*, while proceeding to Sonora for a supply of provisions with a sum of three thousand dollars in specie on board, was driven back by a storm, wrecked on the coast and plundered by the gentiles. This, for the moment, checked the progress of the missions, yet not so as to materially injure them, for under every, even the most unfavorable, circumstances, the work of the Lord was sure to advance.

On the news of the disaster being made known at the mission, Father *Tierra* immediately hastened to the aid of the sufferers, whom he found in the greatest distress, having lost their entire stock of provisions and being obliged to live on the shell-fish and herbs found on the coast. As the refitting of the vessel occupied a considerable time the Father in the interval directed his attention to the preaching of the gospel; and in order the more readily to give the people an idea of the truth of religion, he had portions of the catechism translated into the vernacular, which, by persuasion

and kindness, he got them to learn. It is also to be remarked that this people had previously requested the Father to instruct and baptize them, but the great difficulty of acquiring their language had prevented this for a time. The presence of Father Tierra amongst them awakened their former desires, but as he was unable to remain in their district, he merely admitted the children to baptism, and promised at the earliest opportunity to provide them with missionaries. It is impossible, on reading the virtuous disposition of these gentiles, not to feel sorrow that more missionary priests were not in the country to instruct them in the principles of religion. Under the circumstances the Fathers did all in their power to meet the emergency. The Government being unwilling to come forward with the necessary aid, and the private subscriptions being barely sufficient for the missions already established, further missionary hands could not be employed, thereby causing the greatest embarrassment and anxiety to the Fathers in the way of accomplishing their noble designs. To add to their difficulties a terrible epidemic broke out in the tribe, and extended its ravages on all sides. The greater part of the children and several of the adults fell victims to the malady; nor was this the extent of their misfortune, for, in consequence of a great dearth of provisions and being necessitated to live exclusively on maize and dried meats, other distempers were generated among the

Europeans and resulted fatally to many. The prevalence of these disorders, independent of their natural result, contained a still greater danger to the missions. They were laid hold of by the malignant in order to bring religion into disfavor. In consequence of the great number of deaths, both amongst the children and adults, the sorcerers succeeded in persuading the people that the missionaries were killing the community—the little ones by the waters of baptism and the others by the sacrament of unction! The credulity of the multitude accepted the cheat, and for a time it was firmly believed that the priests were the cause of the mortality.

Nor were the venerable missionaries' trials confined to the foregoing. Christian and Pagan, European and Native, seemed ready to thwart their designs, and overreach their simplicity. In 1711, one of the Fathers was dispatched to the opposite coast, for the purpose of having a vessel belonging to the mission repaired; but, such was the unscrupulousness and fraud of those engaged in the work, that after an outlay of several thousand dollars the condition of the vessel was but little improved. The building of another was, in consequence, immediately begun; but here, in like manner, the simplicity of the Father was turned to profit; and taken advantage of by the unscrupulous speculators, for, after an expenditure of twenty-two thousand dollars or more, the vessel was found to

be entirely unfit for the sea, and was actually lost on its first voyage, on the coast of Sinaloa.

Amid all these grave and continuous obstacles, difficulties and disappointments, the missionaries' labors were in no way abated. Ever extending the sphere of their apostleship, they made several journeys to the interior, reduced several wandering tribes, taught them the principles of religion, and induced them to settle down in particular localities, where they were easily accessible for purposes of instruction. Oftentimes, the Indians themselves would repair to the Fathers, and beg them to go and live in their country. This was particularly so in the case of the Cadigomos, who, on several occasions, repaired in great numbers to the Religious. Unable to resist their pious importunities, though poorly in health, and fully employed where he was, Father Ugarte resolved to visit their tribe. Accordingly, in 1712, he set out for their country. On coming among them, they received him with the greatest demonstrations of love and affection, entreating him to settle among them; and, as an inducement, promised to bestow upon him their best pithahayas and feathers, and their children for baptism! Though thus admirably disposed, and ready for the acceptance of the gospel, yet, in consequence of the scarcity of priests and the difficulties of maintaining the missions, five years were necessarily suffered to elapse before the spiritual wants of this tribe could

be fully attended. Meantime, though situated at a distance of one hundred miles or more, in a wild, mountainous portion of the country, the Father visited them occasionally, while several, on their part, visited him.

The Cochimes, another tribe of that part of the country, also begged the Father at this time to form a mission among them. In a visit which he paid them in the month of November, of the year 1706, they had received him with even greater demonstrations of affection than the Cadigomos; but, how inscrutable are the ways of Divine Providence! That people was not to be blessed with a mission for two-and-twenty years from that date.

During the short time of the Father's stay in their camp, he was only enabled to give them the faintest ideas of religion; but, finding them so admirably disposed, he administered the sacrament of baptism to fifty of the children. In 1728, a mission under the title of St. Ignatius, was ultimately established among them.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FATHERS INVEST THE MONEYS BELONGING TO THE MISSION IN REAL ESTATE.—FIRST ATTEMPT AT GOVERNMENT.—ROUTINE AT THE MISSION.—MILITARY GOVERNMENT.—AMOUNT SPENT ON THE MISSIONS.—NATURAL PHENOMENA.—FLOODS, WHIRLWINDS, ETC.—FATHER UGARTE PREPARES TO MAKE A SECOND SURVEY OF THE COAST.—HE BUILDS A VESSEL.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION OF LA PAZ.—MISSION OF OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE.—FAMINE AND EPIDEMIC IN THE COUNTRY.—DEVOTION OF THE MISSIONARIES.

UP to the present, the missions existed in great measure on the private subscriptions and donations of the faithful. The moneys assigned for their foundation remained in the hands of the benefactors, the interest only being applied for the contemplated purposes of the donors. The failure of Don Juan Lopez Baptista, founder of the mission of Luigi, showed the danger of such an arrangement. It was, therefore, deemed safer that the moneys charitably donated should be laid out in the purchase of land, a course which was subsequently adopted and served to promote the best interests of religion. From the rentals, the missionaries were supplied with sufficient for their necessary personal expenses. Those incurred in the service of the altar for the purposes of divine worship were met by the Government, in accordance with an order from the crown.

At first, the Fathers provided for the temporal wants of all the people, provided they settled at the

missions, and received catechetical instructions. It was thus the chief part of the revenue was liberally applied. After a time, when the numbers increased, it was found difficult to continue this rule, and then only such as attended the regular services of religion were entitled to the allowance. Morning and night they received a measure of atole or pinole, and at noon another of pozzoli, and fresh or salt meat, as the supplies were on hand. The children, aged and infirm of every tribe, whether Christian or Pagan, were carefully attended, and provided with an abundance of food. Baize, serges, and panillos were imported from Spain, and blankets from Mexico for their particular use. The product of the land was entirely their own, the only restraint placed upon them being that of preventing them from wasting the crops, which they would have certainly done if not prevented by the Religious.

As the people had now become tolerably civilized, having almost entirely abandoned their former wandering life, some method for establishing order amongst them became necessary. An attempt was accordingly made at the principal mission. The civil government, if we may be permitted the expression, consisted merely of a few simple regulations, adapted to the character and condition of the people. It was provided, in the first place, that the Father who was the chief of the executive should be attended by a soldier, who

within a certain limit assigned should enjoy the same powers as the captain of the garrison. By the second proviso, the Father was empowered to appoint a Mayor, or Governor, in every tribe, whose duty it would be to preserve order and harmony, and to see that the commands of the missionaries were duly observed. A churchwarden was appointed to the care of every church. His office was to cause all to be present at the exercises of religion, and to see that they conducted themselves becomingly in the church. The catechist summoned the tribe daily to morning and evening devotions, and reported to the Father any want of attendance. During the unavoidable absence of the missionary while visiting the neighboring tribes, the soldier was his vicegerent, and empowered to punish delinquents except for capital crimes, when the case was to be referred to the captain of the garrison. The punishment awarded to minor offences was flogging, imprisonment, or the stocks.

The spiritual government was uniform throughout the whole of the missions. It embraced, beside the daily attendance at the holy sacrifice of the mass, morning and night prayer, catechetical instructions, the care of the infirm and the education of the young. The more apt and better disposed were brought up at the principal mission, where they were instructed in reading, writing and music, a course which fitted them for the office

of wardens, or catechists, in their respective localities. The daily routine in the villages where the missionary resided, was as follows: In the morning the warden summoned the people to church; when, after prayer, the *Te Deum* was sung. Then followed the holy sacrifice of the mass, the catechism in the vernacular, and not unfrequently a prone or instruction, animating them to fervor and perseverance in virtue. This ended, the people retired to their respective employments—some to the fields, some to the workshops, and some to the woods. At noon, they assembled for dinner, which, as has been remarked, consisted of flesh meat and pozzoli, to which, in some instances, vegetables were added. After a reasonable recess, they returned to their respective occupations in which they were engaged till the evening, when they repaired to the church, and recited the rosary and litany of the Blessed Virgin and a hymn in honor of the most adorable sacrament. This concluded, they retired, each one to his respective dwelling, for the night.

The same order, to a great extent, was observed at the out-stations, which were placed under the care of a warden. Every morning the catechist assembled the people in church, and after the usual prayers and catechism, dismissed them to their work. The better to instruct the more ignorant in the principal mysteries of religion, inasmuch as they had only an occasional visit from the

missionary, it was required of them to reside for some time at the principal mission, where they were maintained by the Father. After being tolerably instructed, their attendance was only demanded on Saturdays and Sundays. On all the principal festivals, as well as during the last week of Lent, all the inhabitants from every quarter assembled at the principal mission." How touching and edifying, to witness these poor, simple-minded people, who, but a little before, were alike unconscious of the God who created them, as well as the Saviour who redeemed them, now hastening with cheerful accord, from considerable distances, in order to be present at the offices of religion, and to receive instruction from the lips of their pastor. Every Sunday and festival day, and oftentimes during the week, the missionaries preached to the people. In the administration of the sacraments, but especially of the most adorable Eucharist, the Fathers used the most scrupulous care, never admitting to holy communion any but those sufficiently instructed, and who had given the most satisfactory guarantees of the sincerity of their faith by the purity and simplicity of their lives. Of this class there were several, who not only fulfilled the annual precept of the Church, but who were even permitted to approach the table of the Lord frequently during the year. The religious training of the children was especially attended to by the missionaries; the boys were under the care of a

master, and the girls under that of a matron. On Sundays, besides the accustomed exercises appointed by religion, the people went in procession around the village, singing hymns and rejoicing; after which, they returned to the church to assist at a sermon.

The military government of the garrison was in the hands of the Captain, subject, however, to the authority of the Father—an arrangement which seems to have given the greatest displeasure, especially as the Religious strictly prohibited all from engaging in the pearl fishery on the coast. It was not, indeed, without cause, that such a prohibition had been made; for, during the first expeditions under Alarcon, Viscaino and others, the natives were not unfrequently disedified and scandalized at the conduct of the Spaniards. And entirely apart from this, there was another, and, perhaps, a more necessary reason why such a resolution should be enforced; for, were the soldiers permitted to occupy themselves thus, their services would be lost to the mission, and their presence, in consequence, unavailing for good to the country. Repeatedly did they petition the Father for permission to fish; but, in every instance, their request was met with an absolute refusal; for he was aware of the consequences that would necessarily ensue. At times, however, they managed to avoid the vigilance of the authorities, and engaged in their illicit pursuit, but only to the

great scandal and detriment of the natives, whose barks and service they made use of in their search for the pearls. After a time, the severity of this resolution was somewhat relaxed; and it was permitted to those who had the royal permission to engage in the fisheries.

By the prudence and foresight of the Abbè Alberoni, who was then at the head of public affairs in the old country, the missions were saved at this juncture from inevitable ruin. A man of great wealth, in New Spain, had aspired to the office of Governor of California; and, as an inducement to Government to confer the position upon him, he offered to the authorities a very considerable bribe. A compliance with his desires, it is hardly necessary to say, would have resulted most unfavorably to the country; for, as generally happens in such cases, when offices are purchased, measures are afterwards taken for indemnifying the outlay by the oppression of the poor. Like the great Ximenes, Alberoni had a mind above such miserable chicanery. The eighty thousand dollars offered by the citizen for the viceroyalty of the Californias, only served to direct his attention to that country, and caused him to form extensive designs in its regard, which, if fully developed, would undoubtedly have advanced the material prosperity of the country in general. His object was, in the first instance, to colonize the North American coast, and to extend the

Spanish dominions into the then unexplored regions north of the Gila and Colorado. He also designed, by extending the trade of the Philippines, and making them the centre of the commerce of the East, to render the colonists independent of Old and New Spain. From the Philippines, a trade was to be carried on with the eastern and western shores of America, while from New Spain the commerce would readily find its way into Europe.

The vastness and importance of this plan was worthy of the man by whom it was projected; and, if carried out, would, in all probability, have been attended with the most important results to the nation. With the sanction of the crown, Alberoni wrote to the Viceroy at Mexico, recommending the project to his care. Pursuant to his instructions, a council was immediately held by his excellency, in which were discussed the best means for carrying out the royal intentions. The project, however, did not meet with the approval of the members. It appeared either too vast, and the members of the council were unwilling to assume the responsibility of so important a scheme, or they were indifferent regarding the colonization of the country at all. The meeting, however, was not without its important results as regarded the Fathers. After a careful examination of the case, it was resolved that the Californian missions should be supplied with everything necessary for the

maintenance of a limited number of troops; that two vessels should be constructed and placed at the disposal of the Fathers; and that, if the thirteen thousand dollars already granted by government were found insufficient for defraying the general expenses, the deficit should be supplied from the royal exchequer.

From the wording of the resolution, it appears that the money hitherto raised by private subscription, and expended on the missions, amounted in the gross to five hundred thousand dollars. The council next took into consideration the necessity of establishing a garrison for the protection of the Philippine vessels; as, also, the importance of making an accurate survey of the coast. At the request of the Fathers, it was further determined to maintain fifty additional soldiers at the Cape, and to provide for the education of the youth of the country. But these resolutions not having passed in regular form, were afterwards altered by the Viceroy, the number of soldiers being reduced from fifty to five-and-twenty, while the provision for the education of the children was entirely neglected.

This illiberal and short-sighted policy on the part of the authorities was only in keeping with their previous decrees, and highly injurious to the interests of the nation. A ready and generous aid granted to the Fathers at this time, by which they would be enabled to form garrisons and establish-

ments on the coast and in the interior, would have tended materially to have strengthened the hands of the executive, and to have preserved to the country those important dependencies.

We will now turn for a moment from the labors of the Fathers and the action of Government, to the consideration of some natural events. Upper and Lower California have been frequently visited by terrible storms, whirlwinds and rains. In the autumn of 1717, a hurricane of unusual violence, accompanied with thunder, lightning and rain, burst over the country and extended its ravages throughout the peninsula. The missions, in several instances, suffered severely from its effects. Father Ugarte's presbytery and church were leveled with the ground, his life placed in the most imminent danger, and the crops belonging to the mission completely destroyed. At Loretto, the violence of the storm was such that a boy was taken up into the air and never heard of again. Along the coast, the fragments of vessels and small boats were evidence of its terrible nature. Though frequent in their occurrence, this was the greatest disaster of the kind experienced by the missionaries during their time in the country. It is to such causes, we are assured, that is to be attributed, in great measure, the poverty of the soil, for on such occasions the floods are so strong, that the greater part of the upper surface of the soil is borne away, the rocks only remaining.

The disastrous effects produced by the storm in the mission of Father Ugarte were repeated at Purissima, where the soil was very much damaged by the rains. Shortly after this terrible visitation, Father Tamaral proceeded to the village of San Miguel, where, as if to recompense him by a spiritual gain for the temporal losses sustained by the missions, the Almighty was pleased to grant him unusual success. As the first fruits of his labors, Father Tamaral baptized on that occasion two entire tribes of the gentiles, who earnestly sought to become Christians: Thence he made his way through the mountains to the Indians of Cadigomo, whence he proceeded to La Purissima, where, after extraordinary toil and continued exertion for several years, he succeeded eventually in forming a flourishing mission, from which, as a centre, he visited, at regular intervals, the tribes in the vicinity. This venerable missionary's labors can best be appreciated from the fact, that though constitutionally weak and suffering from frequent attacks of a chronic disease, he extended the sphere of his ministry to the considerable distance of one hundred miles, in a wild, mountainous country, inhabited by forty different tribes.

An accurate knowledge of the peninsula being important, for purposes both civil and religious, Father Ugarte now applied himself to making a careful survey of the coast. For the accomplishment of his purpose, a vessel of considerable pro-

portions was needed; but, as such was not to be had on the coast, he had either to have it constructed in New Spain, the Philippines, or the Old World, unless, indeed, he could find means of building it himself in the country. The latter he eventually determined on doing, though to most persons under the circumstances the construction of a vessel would have proved an insurmountable obstacle. In the mind of the Father, however, difficulties were only a stimulant to energy. In September of the year 1719, accompanied by some of his people, he set out for the interior in search of the necessary timbers. After traveling two hundred miles through a mountainous district, he eventually found the object of his search in a low, marshy part of the country. How to transport it thence to the mission, over hill and dale, was the question then to be solved. Considering the great natural difficulties of the journey, all, with the exception of himself, were of opinion that the work was impossible—that the timber could not be transported to the shore. As the party had only gone out for the object of inspection, they immediately returned to the mission, where the failure of the project was made the subject of general jest. Meantime, the Father did not suffer himself to be influenced by the incredulity of his companions. Having made the necessary preparation for transporting the trees, he again set out on his mission, cleared a road through the mountains,

felled the timber, and carried it by means of oxen and mules to the coast, where, within an incredibly short period, he constructed a vessel, which for beauty, strength and size was admitted by all to be superior to any that had yet been seen on the coast.

Thus was built by a Jesuit Father, in the face of the greatest difficulties, the first vessel that was ever constructed on the Californian coast. She received from the Father the very appropriate title of the "Triumph of the Cross;" and was employed, in the first instance, for the establishment of a mission at La Paz, two hundred miles south of Loretto.

Inasmuch as the whole of the missions, for their greater security, were connected by land, with the double object of opening a readier communication, and of civilizing the intermediary tribes, this expedition was twofold in its character—one part proceeded by land, and the other by sea. The land force was entrusted to the care of Father Guillen of the mission of St. John the Baptist, while the other was led by the indefatigable Father Ugarte, in the trial trip of his newly-built vessel. The mission itself was placed in the hands of Father Bravo. The naval expedition, which arrived before the land party, was at first received with feelings of mistrust by the natives; but, on their intentions becoming known, the people expressed their delight, especially, as it seemed to

them, that by the presence of the missionaries, a reconciliation would likely be effected between them and their inveterate enemies—the inhabitants of the neighboring islands.

The news of the Father's arrival was soon spread through the country, and drew from the neighboring districts numbers of savages, whose respect and esteem Father Ugarte was not slow in attaining. Thus, under the happiest and most favorable auspices, the foundations of this additional mission were laid, and the first measure for the conversion of this section of the country begun. Shortly after, Father Ugarte was joined by the land party, after traveling two hundred miles, with incredible difficulty, through a barren mountainous country. The inconveniences undergone by the Fathers during the formation of the mission, need not be referred to; they were in keeping with what has already been noticed under similar circumstances. The huts, first formed of branches of trees, gave place after a little to more comfortable dwellings and greater convenience. During the six years that Father Bravo governed this mission, he baptized over six hundred children and adults; and, when succeeded in 1728, left in the three villages eight hundred Christians.

Another mission, under the title of "Our Lady of Guadalupe," was founded shortly after that of La Paz. While Father Ugarte had been occupied in cutting timber for the vessel which now brought

him to La Paz, his kind and amiable disposition so attracted the inhabitants of those parts, the Cochimes, that they frequently asked him to return. All that he could then promise them was that if circumstances permitted he would revisit them on some future occasion, or, at least, have a missionary sent. The arrival of Father Everard Helen, in 1719, enabled him to comply with their desires. On the twentieth of December, Fathers Ugarte and Helen arrived at Huasinopi, the place destined for the formation of the new mission. Thither the Indians of all the neighboring tribes immediately repaired, expressing their greatest delight that the Fathers had come to settle amongst them. The good dispositions by which they were animated could not be mistaken. A church, a presbytery, and huts for the natives were immediately begun and, while in the course of erection, messages were brought from the tribes living at a distance begging the Father to visit their camps, for the sake of the aged and infirm, who were unable to repair to the mission. In a couple of weeks, the buildings were sufficiently advanced so as to be habitable, and then was begun in good earnest the instruction of the gentiles. By the festival of Easter the Father was enabled to celebrate his first solemn baptism of adults. The readiness manifested by the people for the sacrament was very remarkable. On being made acquainted by the missionary that one of the conditions requisite was that they should

deliver up all the religious objects used at their festivals, they immediately brought the objectionable articles, and laid them at his feet. Their readiness in thus complying with his desires may be accounted for on account of their unacquaintance, as has been stated at the outset, with every species of formal idolatry. But, as the leaders of the people pretended to a certain knowledge of spiritual and medical science, thereby assuming the double character of priest and physician, and in consequence exercising a great influence over their minds, the compliance of the converts with the Father's injunctions must be regarded as a great triumph of grace. After a large quantity of these articles had been brought by the neighboring tribes, they were publicly burned, and the people admitted to baptism. A like course was followed by all the missionaries of the peninsula.

The means used by the Almighty for the conversion of nations are not always the best calculated in the eyes of the world for such an end. Indirect, as well as direct means, are not unfrequently used by the Lord; nor are the former less efficacious than the latter. If it be true that He chastiseth those whom He loveth, it may be permitted to interpret the calamities that fell on the country at this period in a favorable light. In the year 1722, the peninsula was invaded by incredible swarms of locusts, which almost completely destroyed the chief means of the natives' support

—the pithahayas and other fruits of the country. The maize crops at the mission happily escaped the ravages of the noxious insects, and thus the Fathers were enabled to save from inevitable death many who would otherwise have certainly perished of want. As it was, the distress was appalling; and out of it grew another calamity equally dangerous to the lives of the people. Seeking to satisfy the cravings of hunger, the Indians fed upon the locusts themselves, a resort which, as might have been anticipated, resulted eventually in a general epidemic, in the shape of most virulent ulcers, to which thousands fell victims. As soon as the epidemic had ceased, it was followed by a dysentery, which raged with still greater destruction.

This complication of evils, coming rapidly one upon another, afforded the Father an opportunity of gaining the love and affection of the people by his constant and devoted attention to their wants. The epidemic being general, the missionary was constantly on foot moving from place to place; now in the character of priest, then in that of physician, again exercising the duties of nurse, and thus uniting in his person the triple character of father, friend and physician. So constant and unremitting were his duties, and so little account did he make of himself, that his health was at length undermined, and he was obliged to retire for a time from the field of his labors. As

soon, however, as he was somewhat restored, he returned to his people, who received him with all the marks of affection and gratitude which the numerous lessons of Christian benevolence they had witnessed in his life taught them to feel.

During the time of the mortality, Father Helen attended in their last moments, and prepared for eternity, two hundred and twenty-eight of the adult population. The numbers that owed their recovery to his kind and unremitting attention, we have been unable to learn, but it is not unreasonable to suppose they were many. The Father's faithful and heroic exercises of the office of his ministry so won the love and esteem of the savages as to aid him most powerfully in establishing the Christian religion amongst them. In three years from this date, he had succeeded in converting no less than thirty-two tribes, numbering over seven-hundred persons of all ages. The difficulty of attending these Christians was greater than one would be inclined to suppose, for of the thirty-two tribes, twenty-two were dispersed through the mountains, on account of the great scarcity of water and fruits. These wandering families he eventually succeeded in gathering into particular localities, where they lived in great order and harmony. In each of the villages was a chapel for daily devotions, such as has been noted above. The barren nature of the soil in this section of the country preventing the very extensive production of corn

Father Helen was necessitated, in order to provide for the wants of the people, to import cattle and distribute them through the villages. These, together with the little maize he was enabled to raise, and the fruits they were accustomed to gather in the woods, constituted their entire means of support.

After nine years unremitting attention to the duties of his calling, Father Helen's constitution again sank under his labors. The old infirmity, accompanied by another distemper, returned in all its force. Zeal, charity, benevolence could do no more; nature was exhausted. He had fought the good fight, and now there only remained that he should prepare himself for the reward. To live and die among his people—those poor, simple Indians, whom he had reclaimed from a rude, barbarous condition, was the most earnest desire of his soul. But his superiors, thinking that a cessation from labor might prolong his existence, ordered him to repair to New Spain. Obedient to the voice of authority, he immediately prepared for his departure, and, as he turned his face to the shore and bid adieu to his flock, great was the grief and abundant the tears of the multitude, reminding one forcibly of the affection of the Ephesians and Miletians for the great apostle of the gentiles, under similar circumstances: "And when he had said these things, kneeling down he prayed

with them all: and falling on Paul's neck they kissed him, being very much grieved for the word which he had said, that they should see his face no more. And they conducted him to the ship." ¹

(1) *Acts*: ch. xx., v. 36-38.

CHAPTER XV.

PROJECT TO ESTABLISH GARRISONS AND COLONIES ALONG THE COAST. — EXAMINATION OF THE COAST. — RECEPTION OF THE FATHERS' PARTY BY THE SAVAGES. — DANGER AT SEA. — RETURN VOYAGE. — TERRIBLE STORM. — ADVANTAGES RESULTING FROM THE VOYAGE. — ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS. — SUCCESS OF THE FATHERS. — SINGULAR ENCOUNTER WITH THE SAVAGES. — CONVERSIONS. — MISSION FOUNDED FOR THE CADIGOMO INDIANS. — SUCCESS OF THE SAME.

WITH the view of extending the civil and commercial relations of California, and of protecting the eastern trade, it had long been an object of desire to the Court of Madrid, to find shelter for the Philippine vessels on this coast. It had also been proposed, as we have seen, to establish colonies and garrisons in the country. The effectual accomplishment of this having been entrusted to the Fathers, was met with numerous obstacles. It was required, in the first instance; before anything could be determined, to make an accurate survey of the coast; but, as the "Triumph of the Cross," built under the direction of Father Ugarte, was then the only vessel of any worth belonging to the mission, the survey could not be made without unusual risk. A careful examination by land, it is true, might have answered the purpose; but, as this had been unsuccessfully attempted before, it could not be safely relied on again.

In order, however, to remove all ground of complaint on the part of the Government, and to com-

ply as far as was possible with the royal instructions, the Fathers, with the very limited means at their command, resolved to engage in the work. To ensure the greater success, they determined on dispatching a naval and land expedition. Father Ugarte, being the oldest and most experienced, took charge of the former, and Father Guillen of the latter. From the time of Viscaino's expedition, it was known that a bay of considerable dimensions, called La Magdalena, existed in the vicinity of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth degree of latitude. Thither, according to arrangement, Father Guillen directed his course, accompanied by a party of soldiers and Californians. After traveling continuously for five-and-twenty days, subject to all the inconvenience resulting from journeying in so inhospitable a land, they finally attained the object of their search. The great sense of gratification experienced by the party in thus far accomplishing their enterprise, was very much lessened on learning of the great scarcity of water, without which the advantages of the bay as a place of resort would be entirely unavailing. On inquiring from the natives, they learned that the only fresh water in the vicinity was that of a well, dug in the sand, and of which the Indians made use. They were, however, informed that on the neighboring island, since called Santa Rosalia, water was abundant; but, as they were unable to cross from the main land, in order to as-

sure themselves of the truth of the statement; and, as it would have been unimportant, even if true, they examined the country in every direction, but to no purpose; when they resolved to return to the mission. Father Guillen endeavored to dissuade them from this, and did all in his power to induce them to make a further examination of the country, yet they were unwilling to listen to his words. Fifteen days later they arrived at Loretto, after having traveled a distance of two hundred miles.

Father Ugarte had not yet put to sea, for he awaited the result of the land expedition. By no means discouraged at the unfavorable report, he immediately embarked in his own little vessel, having on board six-and-twenty hands all told; the greater part being Chinese and native Californians. After a sail of some days, they landed on that part of the coast inhabited by the Tepoquis and Seris, who received them in a very unusual manner.

The venerable Father Salva Tierra, who had formerly visited this people, and had given them some elementary notions of religion; recommended to their care all vessels belonging to the missions, which might happen to call at that place. They were to distinguish them by the symbol of our holy religion, which they were certain to carry.

Before leaving the ship, and going ashore, Father Ugarte and his companions observed on the strand one of the natives, who, after fixing a cross

in the sand, immediately retired out of sight. What his object could be was entirely unknown to the party; but, inasmuch as it was the emblem of faith, the Christians, who had been ordered ashore, approached it with every mark of respect. Thereupon, the savages, who had been watching them from a distance, instantly rushed from their concealment, being confirmed in their opinion of the strangers; the more so, on seeing, as they approached, the bowsprit of the bilander surmounted by the emblem of salvation. Their greatest ambition was, then, to see who would be first to welcome the Father, and congratulate him upon his arrival among them. Impatient of the smallest delay, they threw themselves into the sea, and swam to the ship. On board, the scene was touching and edifying in the extreme. On recognizing Father Ugarte as the missionary and leader of the party, they fell at his feet, kissed his garments and hands, and otherwise evinced their esteem and regard for his person. Next day, great numbers of them brought an abundant supply of fresh water from a considerable distance—a service of no little importance to the Christians, as their own provision on board was nearly exhausted.

At the earnest request of the people, Father Ugarte consented to visit their kinsmen inhabiting an island at some distance on the coast. Three days sailing in continual danger, amid reefs, shoals, crooked and narrow ways, brought them to a spa-

cious bay, whence they had a view of the island whither they were bound. The natives, unaware of their intentions, and fearing their presence amongst them, appeared in great numbers on the shore with evidently hostile intentions. Armed with bows and arrows, and wearing on their heads a species of helmet of feathers, they made the coast ring with their voices. Their object was to intimidate the party on board; but, as soon as their friends who accompanied the Father had informed them of the kindly intentions of the missionary, and his desire for their welfare, having merely come amongst them as a teacher of religion, they presently laid their arms aside, ceased their vociferations, and received all with affection.

It was then agreed upon by the people to give the Father the best reception in their power. A levee, in which each should be presented to the missionary and receive his benediction, seemed to them the ceremony best befitting the occasion. A hut was accordingly improvised, a short distance from the shore. Thither the Father was borne, though suffering intensely from an internal affection, induced by over-exertion and exposure to damp. Seated in the little hut, to which there were two openings, one for ingress and the other for egress, the reception begun. It consisted, as we have intimated, in each one presenting himself before the missionary, bowing profoundly, and receiving his blessing. The ceremony ended, the

Father returned to the vessel, and proceeded on his mission of surveying the coast. For several days, his sickness allowed him not a moment's repose, night and day he suffered the most excruciating torments. The unpleasantness of his position was further increased by a scarcity of provisions, and the dangers which now threatened his vessel. The unusual tempestuous state of the sea at that time, made it very uncertain whether the bilander would be able to weather the storm. She had already parted her cable, and was rolling heavily in the trough of the sea. A wave had carried away the bowsprit and cross, a circumstance which the Christians interpreted most unfavorably for themselves; for, with the emblem of salvation, they imagined that the protection of Heaven had gone. Cheered and sustained, however, by the encouraging voice of the Father, they labored, each at his post, and succeeded eventually in recasting the anchor. The danger then passed, the storm abated, the waves subsided. He who said to the waters of Galilee, "Peace, be still," had come to their aid, and saved them from death. The following day the cross was recovered and again fixed in its place.

It being now manifest from the evidence obtained that a harbor such as they sought was not to be found, they resolved upon abandoning the inhospitable shore, and returning to Loretto. Accordingly, on the second July, the anchor was

weighed, and the vessel on her way back to the mission. Three days later, they arrived at the opposite side of the gulf, where an unexpected occurrence caused the party the loss of one of the boats, and well nigh proved fatal to some of the crew. In consequence of the rapidity of the coast current, the bilander was prevented from riding with her head to the wind. To remedy this, the pilot, with some of his companions proceeded in a boat along the coast in search of a more suitable anchorage. While visiting some Indians at a distance, they found, on returning to the shore, that the sea had risen with great violence, dashed the boat on the rocks and completely disabled her. So entire was the ruin, that no hope of repairing her for permanent use could be entertained by any. In their necessity, in order to get back to their companions, they were obliged to have recourse to invention. The boat having been parted, the pieces were fastened with nails extracted from the oars, the line and painter supplying the place of oakum, while a few handfuls of clay were used instead of tar. In this frail, unseaworthy craft, the water rushing in at every part, they had to take the chances of reaching their comrades. It was indeed, a perilous adventure; but there was no avoiding the danger, unless they were ready to accept the still more terrible alternative of perishing from want. Their danger seemed to increase at every moment, for the water was gaining rapidly

upon them, so that, even when in sight of the bilander, they had despaired of their lives. The little craft, however, carried them through, and brought them to their companions.

The pinnacle meantime had been coasting on a similar errand. Her crew in like manner were threatened with danger, but of a different kind. Their stock of provisions having been entirely expended, they were thrown into the greatest distress, from which they were only relieved by the kindness of the natives who happily came to their aid.

On returning to the ship, where the result of their search was anxiously awaited, the intention of immediately returning to the mission was abandoned, and a more thorough examination of the coast determined on. Orders were accordingly given for proceeding still further to the north on the eastern side. After some days they arrived at the head of the Gulf. The color of the water as they approached the junction of the land showed them that they were in the vicinity of the Colorado; a little further on and they came to its embouchure, which then, in consequence of the late storm, was pouring a great volume of turbid water into the sea. The frequent recurrence of logs, trees and huts borne down by the current was evidence of the havoc made on the land by the tempest. When the flood had subsided the men were desirous of ascending the river and examining the country, but were dissuaded by the Father, whose

judgment led him to suppose that another storm was imminent, by which, if overtaken, their lives would be in the most imminent peril. Moreover a further examination was unnecessary, as they had now obtained all the information they sought. The danger, too, to be apprehended from the tides, which in those parts rose with frightful impetuosity, overflowing the country to a considerable distance, was an additional motive why they should hasten their return. A council was accordingly held, in which it was resolved, that as the vessel was in danger from wind and tides, it was more prudent to return immediately. The decision was received with expressions of joy, and so on the 16th of July the anchor was weighed, and the vessel on her way to Loretto.

Their return was not as favorable as they anticipated. As they sailed down the coast they were visited by a violent storm, accompanied with rain, which threatened their imminent destruction. The violence of the tempest was such that the Father, fearing the loss of some of his men, ordered the mate and those who were with him to abandon the pinnacle and get aboard the bilander. That officer, however, was unwilling to abandon his craft; she had brought him to the head of the Gulf, and he trusted she would carry him home. Arrived at the isles of Puedes they were in the midst of their danger, being constantly in the peril of being driven on the shoals and rocks by the winds and

currents they experienced. The currents were dangerous, not only on account of their force and rapidity, but especially because of their irregular course, running, as it is stated, in intersected gyrations. Meantime the storm, which had increased to a tempest, raged with terrible fury. The angry waters leaped and howled around the devoted bark. Through the spars and rigging the roaring of the wind was a portent of immediate destruction, while from stem to stern, as each succeeding wave hurled its foaming water against the vessel's side or swept in fury over its decks, every plank and beam was shivered, and trembled as if ready to start from its place. Everything, indeed, but one looked ominous and foreboding to the crew. For three successive nights around the cross on the bowsprit might be seen the fire of St. Elmo, which, under the circumstances, the faith of the party construed into a pledge of divine favor. The name of the vessel, too, the *Triumph of the Cross*, inspired them with additional confidence, and partially sustained them in their more perilous moments. Their position was yet a most critical and dangerous one. Of the eight-and-twenty men who were on board only five were now capable of duty. Colds, scurvy and rheumatic disorders had disabled the others. Father Ugarte himself was suffering from scurvy. The whole safety of the crew then depended on the five able-bodied men. For eight successive days they battled with the

winds and currents, when at last their efforts were crowned with success, and they cast anchor at one of the islands. This was the more fortunate, as the storm increased at this time to such a terrible pitch that the bilander would certainly have foundered had she not been sheltered by the land.

After a stay of four days at this place, during which the condition of the sick became somewhat improved, they started on their return on the 18th of August. A favorable wind soon brought them beyond the last of the currents which run toward the Californian coast. The unusual appearance of three rainbows over the island which they had quitted, was regarded by all as a favorable omen. The danger over, their hearts again grew light. The expectation of quickly joining their friends, made them forget past trials and dangers; nor was any further trouble anticipated by any. But, in this their calculations were erroneous. Before reaching their homes, one of those storms, or violent hurricanes, which are the terror of the mariner, burst suddenly on the vessel. Hardly was there time to furl the sails. The storm was accompanied by a darkness which completely obscured the light of day: The rain fell in torrents from the clouds; the sea swelled and broke frightfully over the vessel. The thunder boomed with appalling force, while the lightning, which at intervals lit up the momentous scene, revealed the

ocean in its wildest and most terrible state. What added to the peril of the moment was, that, amid the lurid glare of the forked lightning, they could see distinctly approaching them, an enormous column or spout of water, which, unless stayed or changed from its course, would inevitably carry them to a watery grave. Amid this general complication of evils, they had one encouraging thought to sustain them. They were engaged in the service of religion; their voyage had been undertaken in the interest of Heaven; and, surely, that Providence, in whose hands are the destinies of all, would not be unmindful of their danger. With hopeful, trustful minds, they turn their eyes to the symbol of salvation—the cross on the vessel's prow. The winds may blow, the sea may swell, the thunder roar and the lightning flash, but the cross is ever the sign of safety and salvation. Mary, too, whose honor they are seeking to promote, will not fail to be an advocate in their cause. Fondly and fervently they pray to the God of heaven and earth to come to their aid—to avert the dreaded calamity. Their prayers are heard; the Deity is propitious to their cries. The course of the spout is changed, the winds are shifted, the thunder dies on the deep, the darkness is dispelled and the danger is over! With grateful, thankful minds, they pursue their course, and safely arrive at Concepcion Bay, on the Californian coast, at the beginning of September, 17—.

The advantages resulting from this voyage and survey of the coast, were chiefly the following: It was proved, in the first instance, to the satisfaction of all, what some, even till then, regarded as uncertain, that California was a peninsula, and that the Philippine vessels never sailed into the gulf by a northern passage. In the second place, the examination was important, as serving to give a proper idea of the coast; for, in the previously formed maps, harbors, bays and islands were represented where they did not exist. In this sense, then, the voyage answered one of the ends for which it was undertaken. In a religious point the results were alike important, for the places where missions might be established with advantage on the coast were carefully noted. But as no bay with the proper accommodations of water and fuel was found, it was clear, that to provide for the safety of the Philippine vessels, it would be necessary to establish a colony and garrison on the southern coast, and in order to this the indefatigable Father Ugarte, on returning from the expedition of which we have spoken, set out for its survey. Father Tamaral, another of the missionary Fathers, also surveyed at this time, in accordance with the desire of the Viceroy, a large portion of the western coast. An account of these surveys was transmitted to Madrid, but whether it safely arrived is unknown. This, however, is certain, that no action was taken by Government in the matter.

Besides the general advantages resulting from these expeditionary surveys of the coast, there were also, as we have intimated, the probable advantages likely to result to religion. The northern part of the country, because of the more fertile nature of the soil and the larger supply of fresh water, was manifestly better adapted for the establishment of permanent missions than the southern extremity of the peninsula. The character of the northern inhabitants, too, their capabilities and natural virtues showed them more fitted for the reception of the gospel. From the information received it was learned that while the one was of a more peaceful and faithful disposition, of a purer morality and a better and higher development of intellect, the others, or southern people, were for the most part implacable, vindictive and treacherous, the other vices common to their nature, such as sloth, fraud and lasciviousness, assuming equally grievous proportions amongst them. The same motives, however, which under different circumstances would have determined the Fathers to have given the preference to the northern people in the matter of missions, compelled them in this case to begin with the south. Until the southern tribes were brought to a knowledge of the truth and reclaimed from their barbarous state, the missions already established were in danger of ruin, and free communication entirely impossible. On different occasions the southern



gentiles gave evidence of the spirit by which they were led, frequently molesting their neighbors, and carrying their depredations so far as to plunder the Christians.

To proceed, then, with order and security, it was necessary rather to continue the establishment of missions to the south than to the north. To this end two additional establishments were formed between Cape St. Lucas and the Mission Dolores. The funds for the establishment of these missions were supplied by the Marquis of Villa Puente—a nobleman whose name deserves the most honorable mention, on account of his large and munificent donations in behalf of religion. The first of these missions, which was formed between the countries of the Uchities and the Guacuros, was entrusted to Father Guillen, and dedicated to our Lady of Dolores. The labors this Father endured in forming this mission exceeded everything undergone by his brethren, while the happy results were in keeping with his noble exertions. Not content with preaching the gospel to those in whose immediate vicinity he had fixed his abode, he sought out all the neighboring tribes scattered in every direction, and after converting them to the faith, induced them to settle in little communities, to which he gave the following beautiful names: Conception, Incarnation, Trinity, Redemption and Resurrection. Three other villages were also among the results of his labors. In fine, so

eminently successful were his earnest efforts in the behalf of the gentiles, that by his individual labor alone all the inhabitants of that section of the country, for one hundred miles, from the Pacific to the Gulf, were brought to a knowledge of the faith. Nor must it be imagined that he only gave them a tincture of religion, without grounding them in the principal duties thereof; for, in the subsequent rebellion which happened in the south, the Christians belonging to these missions not only remained firm in their attachment to the faith, but even offered an asylum to the Fathers who had been banished by their own.

The other mission, of which I have spoken as having been founded at this time, was established among the Coras, not far from the Cape. On the arrival of the party, they found that the Indians had withdrawn from the locality, and retired to the north. Why they should have done so, was entirely unknown to the Father; nor were his suspicions diminished, but rather increased, on seeing, while walking one evening on the shore, a number of people rushing furiously toward him, shouting and threatening at the same time. They were headed by a leader of enormous proportions, painted with variegated colors, and fantastically dressed. A hair cloak hung loosely over his shoulders, a girdle of antelopes' feet encircled his loins, in one hand he had a fan, and in the other a quiver and bow. The wild and frightful appear-

ance of the men, their dreadful howlings and threatening gestures, caused the Father to believe that they were certainly bent on his destruction, and that his last hour had inevitably come. In the emergency, he found he had only one thing to do—to offer the sacrifice of his life to the Almighty, and to await the result. Suppressing, as much as he was able, his natural timidity, conformably to the instructions he had received, he advanced boldly, without betraying his internal emotions, though at the time, from the very fantastic appearance of the leader, he was inclined to believe it was the Spirit of Darkness who was urging the savages to attack him, as the minister of Christ. On the approach of the party, he gave them to learn that he was highly affronted at their extraordinary conduct, in seeking to frighten him by numbers and gestures; and then, in order to conciliate their affections, he distributed amongst them some trifles he happened to have on his person, inviting them at the same time to accompany him to the camp, where he would be able to give them a better proof of his esteem. The firmness and resolution, combined with the presents, produced the most favorable results, and the people agreed to accompany him as he desired. Arrived at the camp, he bestowed on them such articles as he had brought for that purpose, with which they were highly delighted; but, on departing, requested him, if he would have them return,

to get rid of the dogs and other animals he had, of which they were exceedingly afraid, never having seen such in their lives. On the following day, they returned in great numbers, bringing such presents as their poverty permitted, to which a suitable return was made in pozzoli, sackcloth and trifles.

On the arrival of the party that proceeded by sea, the establishment of the mission was begun, the ground was cleared, the position of the buildings determined, the foundations dug, and the clay prepared; as soon, however, as the works began to assume a definite form, the Indians on a sudden disappeared. Their suspicions were aroused. In their minds, the labors of the Father were to be interpreted unfavorably for them. The Coras and Guacuros were inveterate enemies. The Father had come from the territory of the latter, and had even brought with him some of that nation. The walls of the church, though only of clay, were intended as a fortress. The fact of entering into friendly relations with them at all, was none other than with the view of securing their ruin. At a favorable moment, the Guacuros would come, at the Father's monition, and destroy them as a race. It was, therefore, incumbent they should abandon the district, and consult for their safety, by retiring to a distance.

The Father, on noticing their absence, immediately sought out their retreat; and, although he

succeeded in allaying the fears and removing the suspicions of some, the majority were unwilling to trust his assertion. And, in order the better to secure themselves against their imaginary enemy, the men took the precaution of watching by night, aided by the blaze of great fires they kept burning for that purpose. For two days they remained confirmed in their opinion; nor was it any use to attempt to dissuade them therefrom, for as soon as the Father made his appearance, they invariably fled from his presence. Left to themselves, they gradually returned to the mission, and when convinced of their error, requested their children might be admitted to baptism, and a friendship formed between them and their hereditary enemies, the Coras. Thus, what at first seemed the destruction of the mission, resulted eventually in a work of the highest importance—the reconciliation of those inveterate enemies, and their preparation in this manner for the truths of religion.

The reconciliation of the tribes was followed by the baptism of a large number of children, which was only the beginning of greater success, for the women were constantly bringing their offspring and begging a like favor of the Father. After a time the seat of the mission was removed nearer to La Paz in consequence of the greater facility in obtaining provisions, but through accident the change was near proving its ruin. While the walls of the new building were yet devoid of a roof there occurred one of those terrible storms of which we

have spoken above. The Father was absent at the time assisting the dying. The natives, in order to save themselves from the violence of the hurricane, took refuge in the church, but unhappily, the walls being weak, the building was overturned and resulted in the death of some of the people, the mutilation of others, and a most terrible fear to the remainder. The general impression created in the minds of the friends was of the most unfavorable kind. The Father, they believed, was the cause of the calamity; it had been premeditated by him, nor could they be persuaded to the contrary till they learned from the people themselves that they had retired there unasked.

It has been stated above that on the occasion of Father Piccolo's visit to the Cadigomos, that people requested a mission to be established among them, but that circumstances at the time prevented the Father from complying with their request. An occasional visit from the neighboring mission for the next two-and-twenty years was all that could be done for this tribe in order to preserve their holy desires. The time had at last arrived when their wants could be supplied. In 1727 there arrived in California Father John Baptist Laymundo, a Mexican Jesuit, who not only offered to take upon himself the care of that people, but even put his fortune at the disposal of his superior for a like end. In January of the following year he set out from Loretto for the scene of his labors, and on the 20th of the month arrived

at the place. The first impressions created in his mind were most favorable. The people expressed their satisfaction at his coming amongst them, by crowding around him and offering to perform for him the little services he needed. When his presence became known through the country hundreds of the inhabitants hastened to pay their respects. On the other hand the difficulties he had to encounter were not so embarrassing as in ordinary cases, for, in consequence of the occasional visits previously made to that people, they were found to be partly instructed in the principal doctrine of faith. Moreover, the assiduity with which they applied themselves to the essentials of religion enabled him within a little to confer baptism on several. How many he admitted to the sacrament is not known, but it would appear that the number was large, inasmuch as from the commencement of the mission he had five hundred catechumens under instruction. The Father's spiritual functions were so numerous that he had no time to devote to the temporal concerns of the mission, but in this his place was supplied by the soldiers and Indians who speedily erected the necessary buildings. The successes he met with from the outset so encouraged and animated him in the discharge of his duty that, like others of his brethren, he extended his labors to the neighboring tribes, reclaimed them from a wandering life, opened their minds to religion and science, and finally established them in Christian communities.

CHAPTER XVI.

DIFFICULTY IN CONVERTING THE RELIGIOUS TEACHERS. — INSURRECTION AND MASSACRE OF CHRISTIANS. — RETALIATION. — CAPTURE OF INSURGENTS. — DEATH OF FATHERS PICCOLO AND UGARTE. — ESTABLISHMENT OF MISSIONS. — FATHERS ECHIVERIA AND SIGISMUND TARAVAL. — INSURRECTION. — MASSACRE OF FATHERS CARANCO AND TAMARAL. — GREAT DANGER TO THE MISSIONS. — ALL THE FATHERS RETIRE TO LORETTO. — GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO COME TO THEIR AID. — SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION. — A PHILIPPINE VESSEL ARRIVES AT ST. LUCAS. — THIRTEEN OF THE CREW MASSACRED.

FROM what has been said in the closing part of the preceding chapter, it must not be inferred that Father Laymundo's labors were uniformly successful in bringing the savages to a knowledge of the Christian religion. Though in most instances his teaching met with a ready response at the hands of the people, there were those who remained steadfast in error and persistently disregarded his ministry. Of these the sorcerers and aged were especially remarkable; nor, indeed, are we to be astonished at this, for while their conversion from error to the religion of Christ put an end in the one instance to their sources of profit and power, and in the other to the indulgence of their unnatural lusts and desires, to which, from their childhood, they were habitually given; it further placed on their liberty a most painful restraint by requiring their regular attendance at the obligatory du-

ties of the mission. Neither was it without a struggle with themselves that those who before had been in the capacity of teachers could now be induced to take the rank of disciples and receive instruction at the hands of a stranger. A few years, however, of constant, patient attention on the part of the Father, aided by divine grace, brought even these to a knowledge of God, and then the venerable missionary had the consolation of seeing his labors crowned with success upon all sides. What aided him materially in the correction of vice and the reform of manners, was the communication maintained between him and the more virtuous, by whom he was kept constantly informed of the irregularities which happened to occur. The construction of roads from the principal mission to the different stations by which easy access was obtained to the whole of the people, was also an additional means whereby religion was greatly subserved. But even with all his successes and spiritual conquests, Father Laymundo was not without his reverses.

Instigated, no doubt, by the malice of the enemy of mankind at the great progress of religion, and the flourishing state of the missions in general, a body of the gentiles, living at a distance, made an incursion against some of the Christians, fell upon a village, killed three of the faithful, and would have butchered the others had they not fled for protection to the principal mission. The

neighboring Christians immediately took up the cause of their brethren, and were proceeding against the marauders till prevented by the Father, who falsely supposed that forbearance would effect what arms might fail to accomplish. In this he was greatly deceived, for according to their barbarous notions kindness proceedeth from weakness, and forbearance from cowardice. They were accordingly only encouraged in their iniquitous course, plundering and pillaging before them, and carrying their insolence so far as to threaten the principal mission. It being then clearly apparent to all, that forbearance and moral persuasion were entirely inadequate to repel the invaders, the Christians of the different villages assembled and armed in order to punish the guilty. Their arms consisted of bows and arrows, and spears, to which knives were attached with the view of rendering them still more effective. Even the very women engaged in the movement, and lent a hand to make the expedition a success. Every preparation being made, the warriors were reviewed, when it was found that their numbers were seven hundred or more, but the commissariat not being sufficient for so many, they were reduced to one half. They were formed into two companies, commanded each respectively by a captain appointed, one by the Father, and one by the natives. Thus equipped, they set out in quest of the enemy and soon discovered his posi-

tion, but in order to guard against a reverse it was resolved to await the cover of night before making the attack. The tactics answered remarkably well, for the enemy, finding himself surrounded by the Christians, surrendered at pleasure without striking a blow. Two of the number, however, favored by the darkness of the night, found means to escape, and with some others of their companions, who happened to be detached from the main body, precipitately fled from the locality and returned to their homes.

The Christians now returned in triumph to the mission with their captives, and repaired in the first instance to the church, where solemn thanksgiving was offered to God for the victory they had obtained over their enemies. The following day, the prisoners were made to appear, and on being convicted of rebellion, robbery, and murder, were sentenced to be removed to Loretto, there to undergo the penalty of capital offences. The result of the trial was received by the Christians with general joy, for now they imagined an opportunity was offered them of revenging themselves on their inveterate enemies. In this they were mistaken; for, at the earnest request of the Father, the sentence of death was commuted to a certain number of lashes; and even this was further reduced, the principal murderer or ringleader only being made to suffer the penalty. The effect of this unusual lenity was not without its beneficial results on the

minds of the Christians and Pagans. In it the former received a lesson of moderation, and the latter an idea of the mildness and lenity of a system which, while in its power to punish, was content with so little.

On being restored to their liberty, the savages, touched by the kindness of the Fathers, and edified at what they had seen at the mission, begged to be received among the number of the faithful. In order to test their sincerity, it was deemed more advisable not to readily accede to their request; the matter was accordingly deferred for a time. That they were, however, sincere in their desires was afterwards seen, for after a little they returned to the mission and begged as a favor that their children, at least, might be admitted to baptism. To this the Fathers complied, and after some time admitted the adults themselves, who, together with their families and friends, had come to the mission for that purpose.

The time had now come when the missions were to be deprived of some of their ablest and most devoted supporters. Father Francis Piccolo and Father John Ugarte were of this number. The former, after a life of remarkable fidelity and success, ended his life in the garrison of Loretto, at the venerable age of seventy-three, two-and-thirty of which he spent as missionary in reclaiming the California aborigines. The latter closed his career at the age of seventy, at the little village of St.

Paul, after having spent thirty years of his life in the country. The remarkable works effected by these venerable men should never be forgotten; they were, indeed, apostles in the true sense of the word. To their exertions, in a great measure, must be attributed the establishment and progress of religion in the country. Not only the numbers they brought into the church, which were great, but the heroic endeavors they made to provide for their temporal wants, rank them amongst the most remarkable missionaries of the Catholic Church, and the greatest benefactors of mankind.

In 1729, the year in which Father Piccolo died, Father Echiveria, formerly agent for the missions at Mexico, was appointed visitor of California. From a letter of his to a friend, dated February 10th, 1730, we get a glimpse of the character of the converts made by the missionaries:

“ I set out to visit the missions, beginning with St. Xavier, and continuing to St. Ignatius, of the north, which is the last and most distant from here, about eighty leagues. The whole took me forty-eight days, the cold being severer here than in Guapungo in January. But I was well rewarded for all these fatigues, were it only in seeing *the fervor of these new Christian establishments*; and the least I could do was to shed tears of joy at so frequently hearing God praised by the mouths of poor creatures who very lately did not as much as know that there was any such Being.”

After visiting the different Christian settlements, Father Echiveria determined upon establishing two additional missions, one of which was entrusted to the care of the Rev. Father Taraval. The reader will appreciate the labors of this missionary, on learning that in the space of a single year he reclaimed from their savage state, and brought to a knowledge of religion, no less than one thousand and thirty-six of the inhabitants. The importance of this conquest can only be properly estimated by remembering the character of the people, and their utter disinclination to lead a virtuous and orderly life. The constant and numerous restraints laid on their passions by the principles of religion, to which they eventually submitted, was an evidence of the triumph of divine grace, and the success of the missionaries' endeavors.

According to the intentions of Father Echiveria, the other mission was established for the Coras, and to this Father Sigismund Taraval was appointed as pastor. This excellent missionary was a man of more than ordinary ability and virtue. His father, who was a Milanese, served with distinction in the army, in which he held the rank of Lieutenant-General. Young Taraval entered the novitiate at Madrid, and, after going through a part of his studies at Alcala, was sent to complete them at Mexico. There his virtues, ability and earnest desire to consecrate himself to the service

of the gentiles, pointed him out as a suitable person for the arduous mission of California.

While awaiting instructions to proceed to the immediate scene of his labors, he visited some of the neighboring islands, where he found a few scattered inhabitants, whom he persuaded to accompany him to the mainland in order to be instructed in the Christian religion. All, with the exception of a sorcerer, readily complied with his request, and even he, on learning that he was to be entirely abandoned, changed his ideas and accompanied the people. All things being in readiness, the missionary now proceeded to his mission in the vicinity of Palmas Bay. The visits previously made to that people by Fathers Napoli, Caranco and Tamaral, had partly prepared them for the work of conversion, and to this, in a great measure, must be attributed the success that attended the Father's exertions from the beginning. Though in every instance his preaching was not followed by any practical result, for there were those who, on account of their irregular lives, refused to listen to his words, yet, such were the general fruits of his labor, that by the end of the year he had instructed and baptized the greater part of the people in his district, and to the fidelity and affection of these he was afterward indebted for his life during the general rebellion which subsequently happened.

Up to the year 1731, when the last mentioned mission was established, the labors of the Fathers

had been attended in almost every instance with remarkable success. The missions established and the conversions effected were evidence of this. Another twenty or thirty years of like success, and the entire country would be brought to a knowledge of God. But from the successes of the past we are not to judge of the future. A new and unexpected embarrassment was now thrown in their way, and all but resulted in the ruin and destruction of their hitherto well-earned conquests.

The greatest difficulties the missionaries found from the beginning in reclaiming the savages was that of inducing them to observe the principles of the natural law by placing a proper restraint on their irregular lusts and desires. The debauchery and brutal excesses in which they had previously lived, without the smallest remorse, rendered the morality and obligations of the Christian religion most irksome and disagreeable in their eyes. To this is to be attributed the calamities that originated at this time, and unhappily resulted in the death of two of the Fathers and the destruction of all the southern missions.

The Governor of the Mission of Santiago de la Coras, who was a Christian, born of a mulatto and an Indian, was a lewd, dissolute man. His name was Botan. It is proper to remark that he had been promoted to his post because of his superior intelligence, and the influence he possessed with his countrymen. For a time his conduct was good,

but unwilling to submit to the constant restraint of religion, he returned to his former excesses, for which he was frequently rebuked by the Father. When it was found that neither rebuke nor entreaties had any effect on his conduct it was deemed necessary to deprive him of his office and publicly punish him, lest his evil example might be the cause of ruin to others. Instead of bringing him to a sense of religion, the well-merited chastisement only filled him with rancor and caused him to form a conspiracy against the life of the Father. In this he would in all probability have accomplished his end had not the missionary been forewarned of his design. But though the nefarious attempt was abortive, the consequences were still injurious to religion, for by it the minds of the people were upset and the seeds of rebellion extensively sown.

Defeated in his impious purpose, Botan immediately betook himself for counsel and shelter to a gentile Cazique, who was also a dissolute character, living in like manner with a great number of women. Chicori, for this was the gentile's name, had also been incensed against the Religious, and had made an attempt on his life for having been reproved for stealing a girl from the mission. The resolution come to by these two profligate men was to murder the Father, and root christianity out of that part of the country; that thus they might be the better enabled to indulge in their accustomed de-

baucheries. The influence they possessed over the minds of the people made them most formidable enemies, especially as the Father had nothing to rely on but the fidelity and affection of the newly-made converts. The more readily to carry out their wicked designs, these two dissolute chiefs, with armed bodies of followers, lay in wait for Father Taraval, who was then about to return from a visit to a brother Religious. Owing to the vigilance and fidelity of the Christians, the Father was apprised of the danger, as in the first instance, and thus narrowly escaped with his life. The danger to religion being then manifestly great, the Christians of the neighboring mission, at the suggestion of the pastor, took up arms to rid themselves of the enemy, and not without purpose. On seeing the faithful in such overwhelming numbers, the gentiles hastily withdrew from the locality and returned to their homes.

The two chiefs, Chicori and Botan, thus finding their plans unavailing, and their numbers greatly diminished, through motives of policy, lest the Christians would fall on them and massacre them without pity, thought best to make their submission, and ask pardon for their offences. A peace was accordingly sued for and granted. But, inasmuch as it was unreal on the part of the chiefs, having been merely solicited with the view of strengthening their position, and of maturing their plans; as soon as circumstances permitted, they

assumed their former hostility and this time with unhappy effect. From the beginning, under the delusive appearance of a general tranquillity, there was alive a spirit of revolt, created by the leaders and shared in by their followers. What is most humiliating, and almost unaccountable is, that even some of the Christians entered into the conspiracy—lent a willing ear to the suggestions of Chicori and his friend, and this at a time when they were receiving the bounty of the Father, and attending the regular exercises of the mission.

As soon as the conspirators considered themselves sufficiently strong, they resolved to make the attack, and put an end to religion. The only opposition they expected was on the part of the soldiers; but as their number was small—amounting only to three—they looked upon success as a certainty. To make certainty, however, more certain, they waylaid one of the soldiers, and having slain him, hastened to the mission, and informed the Father that his friend had been taken suddenly ill in the woods, and begged him to go and confess him, or at least to send one of the guards to bring him to the house. The strangeness of the case, and the confusion and embarrassment betrayed by the actors, led the Father to suspect that something was wrong, and that a project existed for murdering himself and his guard, by dividing their strength. His suspicions were further increased, and, indeed, the truth all but satis-

factorily seen, on learning that the same or another body of rebels had killed the other member of the guard then in charge of the mission of La Paz. At such a critical juncture, prudence might have dictated to the missionary to retire for a time from the field of his labors; but under the circumstances, he did not consider himself justified in abandoning his post. Meantime the spirit of rebellion was daily increasing, till at length, unable to be further restrained, it burst forth in all its terrible violence, and swept as a torrent over that and the other southern missions. Friday, the first day of October, was the day fixed upon for the rising. The conspirators had determined upon attacking, in the first instance, the mission of which Father Caranco was pastor; when they would next direct their attention to other reverend missionaries. What renders the crime the more odious and unnatural is, that some of those belonging to the missions, on whom the Father had especially relied, were engaged in the plot. Before making the attack, the conspirators happening to encounter a body of the neophytes, returning from the neighboring mission, with a letter for the Father, made use of them to carry out their design. The plan was to throw the Religious off his guard, and prevent him from using any means of defence—a proceeding which resulted entirely according to their desires; for, while engaged in reading the epistle, the conspirators rushed violently into the dwell-

ing, seized upon the venerable man, and dragging him without, as he prayed for his enemies, pierced him with arrows, finishing the deed of blood with clubs and stones. Meantime, some of the murderers happening to espy the Father's little attendant weeping for the fate of his master, immediately seized him by the feet, and dashed out his brains on the floor. The noise of the attack drew the entire village to the spot, and though several expressed their horror at the enormity of the crime, they were unable to render any assistance in saving the mission as they beheld among the murderers some of the principal men of the place.

From this the reader may learn the fickle and giddy dispositions of the natives. Those who in the morning joined with the Father in his devotions, an hour or two later united with his enemies in depriving him of life. To finish their bloody intent, they resolved upon burning the body, but before doing so, subjected it to the most shameful and execrable insults, at which the biographer has only delicately hinted: "The several shocking enormities they perpetrated on his lifeless corpse," (says Father Venegas,) "together with abominable scurrilities, before they committed it to the flames, are best passed over in silence, only observing that their barbarity and brutal insults evidently showed that the great object of their rage and indignity was the doctrine newly introduced by the Father, especially as it required

chastity and moderation." Then, amid the wildest scene of ribaldry, tumult and execration, the bodies of Lorenzo Caranco and his little attendant were tossed into the flames. Thus died on the first of October, in the year of our Lord 1734, the first martyr of the Californian Church.

The murderers, having now nothing to fear, directed their attention to the pillage of the presbytery and church. Whatever articles they could appropriate to any use they retained; the remainder they burned. Pictures, statues, mass-books, chalices, etc., were hurled indiscriminately into the fire. The Father's two domestics happening to return at this moment, arrived on the scene only to share the same fate as their master.

From Santiago, the name of the mission thus ruined, the murderers directed their steps to the mission of San José. Their numbers had now considerably increased, for independent of the accession they received at the last mentioned place, others had flocked to them from different parts. On Sunday, the 3rd of October, two days after the massacre at St. James, they arrived at San José. It was about eight o'clock in the morning. Father Tamaral, who was entirely unprepared for their visit, was sitting quietly in his apartment when he was aroused at seeing a great body of men rushing tumultuously for the door. On entering they began demanding different articles, which, if denied them, they were ready to turn into an occasion of

quarrel, that thus they might have a pretext for murdering the venerable man. Realizing their evil designs, the Father, in order to leave them without an excuse, mildly replied that there was sufficient for all. Thus disappointed in finding a pretext for crime, they fell presently upon him, knocked him to the ground, dragged him from the house, and, as in the case of his brother Religious, dispatched him with arrows and stones. As if to put a climax to their infamy and to render ingratitude more patent, while breathing his last, they resorted to the horrible extreme of cutting his throat with one of those knives which he had purchased for their use! Such was the death of the Rev. Father Tamaral, the second Californian missionary of the Society of Jesus, who died for the faith after having labored for the conversion of the people eighteen years and some months. By birth Father Tamaral was a Spaniard, having been born in Seville in 1687. In 1712 he proceeded to Mexico, whence four years later he entered on the field of his labors. The same shocking enormities were practiced on his corpse as in the case of Father Caranco, the only difference, if any, being that there was less restraint and decorum observed by the infuriated rabble.

The rebels next proceeded to the mission of St. Rose, but here they were happily disappointed, for the Father, having received information of their coming, found means of escape. Disappointed in

their designs on the life of the Religious, they turned their rage against the Christians of the place, and butchered, without mercy, all that fell into their hands, to the number of eight-and-twenty, the others having succeeded in making their escape.

The consequences likely to result to the country in general from this fierce spirit of rebellion were of the most dangerous and deplorable kind. As soon as the news of the murder of the missionaries and the destruction of the southern missions reached the ears of the other inhabitants, the half-subdued passions of many were fiercely aroused, and a malevolent desire created in their minds of ridding themselves of their new obligations in order to return to their former excesses. That this was not the sentiment of the majority was clear from the outset, but the danger which threatened the Fathers and their missions was, lest the Christians in general might be influenced by the voice and authority of the popular leaders, as often occurs in times of commotion. Did only the northern Indians follow the example of their southern brethren, spirited on by the advice of a few dissolute men, Christianity was lost in the country and the labors of a generation undone.

Whatever may have been the actual sentiments of the northern tribes I am unable to say, but it is certain that a general rising, having for its object the entire destruction of religion, was very much

feared. At this very critical juncture prudence dictated to the Superior of the missions to summon all the Religious to the principal station of Loretto, that by the protection of the garrison their lives might be saved. He also sent an account of the atrocities committed, and the ruin which threatened the country in general, to the Viceroy at Mexico, requesting his excellency, who comprised in his person the office of Governor and Archbishop, to take the necessary measures for the safety of his subjects and the interests of religion. The answer returned to the Father Superior, it is lamentable to think, was entirely unequal to the occasion. It was as unworthy of a minister of state as of a chief of religion. Spanish diplomacy never, indeed, seemed up to an emergency. The old stately routine of consulting the sovereign was to be maintained under every circumstance, even in the most exceptional cases. Thousands might perish, religion might suffer, the dependency may even be lost to the crown, but without conferring with the monarch, and learning his pleasure, no aid, not a soldier could be sent to the country. The answer of his excellency was in substance as follows: He was conscious of the dangers to which the country and religion were exposed—the perilous position of the Fathers could not for a moment be doubted. His powers, however, of Governor prevented him from acting in the matter. Should the Fathers think well of addressing his

majesty, he would use his endeavors to forward their interests.

The unfitness of a Governor for his position, was, probably, never more strikingly shown than in this. Language cannot too strongly condemn the weakness and imbecility of a man who would thus vainly trifle with the lives of the people and the best interests of religion. Four of the southern missions had been already destroyed, two of the missionaries massacred, the spirit of revolt on the increase, a general rising daily expected, and yet, with the knowledge of this, the archiepiscopal Governor of Mexico should wait till he received positive instructions from his majesty in Europe! The heartlessness of the proceeding was, indeed, only in keeping with the previous action of the Mexican Council, and proved most effectually that a government so managed required the first elements of power, and could not, for any great length of time prevent the dependency from falling into other and abler hands.

At the same time that Father Guillen, the Superior, wrote to the Governor of Mexico for aid, Father Bravo made a similar appeal to the Governor of Sinaloa, on the opposite coast, praying his excellency to send to their aid some fifty or more of the Indians, with a few of the soldiers. The Indians of that part were the Yaqui, and to their honor be it stated, that no sooner had they learned the state of affairs, and the very critical position

of the Fathers, than five hundred of them presented themselves armed, at the Bay, ready to start for California. As the vessel dispatched for the purpose was unable to accommodate that number, sixty of the ablest were chosen for the occasion; but, that the others might not be deprived of a share in the work, they presented their arms to their companions, and requested them to put them into the hands of the faithful, on landing. Thus the aid which might and ought to have been granted by a responsible government and a civilized people, was furnished by rude, recently converted aborigines.

From the moment that the Fathers, in obedience to the call of authority, had abandoned the missions and retired to Loretto, the general state of affairs assumed a more favorable aspect. The great majority of the Christians were, at least, sensible enough to understand that the priests were truly their friends, and that socially and morally they had improved their condition. The cause of the missionaries' retirement was clear to their minds; for, on leaving, they had carried away the ornaments and valuables of the churches. For the first time in their lives, these poor children of impulse began to realize a void in their lives—to see the necessity of their dependence on others, and the sweets and advantages of the Christian religion. To attempt the practice of Christianity without the Fathers, was impossible; to return to

their former wandering, miserable existence, they were unwilling. Gratitude, too, to those who so faithfully labored in their cause, providing not only for their spiritual, but temporal wants, spoke most forcibly to the hearts of the more reflective and better disposed, and failed not to elicit a ready response at their hands. In a word, their sorrow was real; and so, after a joint consultation, it was resolved to proceed to Loretto, in solemn procession, to implore the venerable missionaries not to abandon them to their miserable state. According to arrangement, numbers of the principal Christians started in procession for the garrison, bearing on their shoulders the crosses of the missions, and giving expression to their sorrow in an abundance of tears. Their petition was to the effect that as the Fathers had baptized and reclaimed them, they would not abandon them now, and suffer them to return to their former excesses. Their first and most earnest desire was to live and die in the holy Catholic Church; and, surely, it was unfit that the crimes of a few should be visited on all, especially as they were willing to denounce the insubordinate, and to deliver up to the authorities all who had spoken and acted amiss. Should the Fathers refuse to return, they would settle at Loretto, as they could not bear to be separated from their pastors.

These and other like arguments were urged with such an earnestness and apparent sincerity,

that the missionaries were moved to compassion; but, to assure themselves of the people's real intentions, they refused, at the outset, to comply with their request, yet suffered them to remain at the garrison. No evidence of an evil intent appearing in their conduct, the Fathers consented to return to the missions, where they were received by their flocks in a most gratifying manner. In order the better to maintain their authority, as also to satisfy the wishes of many, a nominal punishment was awarded the more culpable, and thus four of the principal disturbers were banished for a time, that the seeds of rebellion might not remain in the country.

The opportune arrival of the troops from Sinaloa, aided in establishing general tranquillity, and in strengthening the Father's position. The southern inhabitants, however, remained in a state of open hostility, and their insolence and animosity were even increased through an accident. Shortly after the massacre of Fathers Caranco and Tamaral, while the southern part of the peninsula was entirely in the hands of the rebels, the annual Philippine vessel called at the Cape, expecting to meet with a hospitable reception. On landing, thirteen of the men were sent by the Captain to give intelligence to the Father of the vessel's arrival, a few being left in charge of the pinnace. While proceeding from the beach in the direction of the village, they were suddenly attacked by a body of In-

dians, who rushed from an ambush, and massacred all on the spot. The murderers next rushed upon those in charge of the boat, and, as they were not on their guard, they too fell victims to their fury. This atrocity did not go without its reward. The Captain, surprised at the delay of his men, sent some of the crew to report on the matter. These, on seeing the mangled corpses of their companions, became so enraged, that they rushed madly upon the savages, and fully revenged the blood of their fallen companions. Immediately after, the Captain sailed for Mexican waters, where the news of the tragedy excited universal regret, and caused steps to be taken for the further chastisement of the offenders.

CHAPTER XVII.

PUNISHMENT OF THE RINGLEADERS IN THE LATE REBELLION.—ORDERS FROM HIS MAJESTY PHILIP V. TO ESTABLISH A GARRISON.—RESTORATION OF THE MISSIONS.—ORDERS OF FERDINAND V. FOR ESTABLISHING MEXICAN COLONIES.—A JUNCTURE TO BE FORMED BETWEEN THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA AND SONORA ON THE COLORADO.—FATHER KUHN'S LABORS IN SONORA.—FATHER SEDELMAYER EXAMINES THE COLORADO.—STATE OF RELIGION IN CALIFORNIA AT THAT PERIOD.—TERRIBLE EPIDEMIC.—DEATH OF FATHER BRAVO AND FATHER TEMPIS.—DEPARTURE OF FATHER SESTIAGO.

UPON learning of the disaster to the crew of the Spanish galleon, the Viceroy, for once in his life, acted as a responsible government agent. Without waiting to consult his majesty's pleasure, he immediately sent orders to the Governor of Sinaloa to proceed with all haste to California to check the rebellion and punish the ringleaders. Though obedient to the commands of the Viceroy, the course pursued by the Governor was but ill-suited to the object in view. By a constant display of benevolence and clemency, he vainly wasted his time and the means at his command. At the end of a couple of years, he learned that the reduction of the country was not to be effected as he expected. A just appreciation of the character of the people, and of the wild, ungovernable state in which they were then, might have assured him of this from the beginning. But neither the

advice of the Fathers, nor the lawlessness of the people was sufficient to disabuse him of his error. Experience eventually taught him the lesson.

Tired and disgusted at the continued hostility of the savages, he ultimately resorted to rigor, and made the disaffected understand the necessity of an immediate submission. In a general engagement, to which he had the fortune of bringing the rebels, he inflicted such losses on their numbers as to very much dishearten the leaders, yet not so as to cause them to retire entirely from the contest. A show of opposition was still maintained for a time, but ended in a second general encounter, wherein they were completely undone, when they surrendered at discretion, on the hope of a pardon. Among the captured were the two principal murderers of the recently massacred Fathers. On these, at least, justice should have demanded the exercise of capital punishment; but the incapacity and ill-timed clemency of the Governor only subjected them, with their companions in blood, to banishment to the coast of New Spain. This immunity, however, at the hands of the Governor, did not save them from the anger of Heaven; for a little while after, both of them fell victims to the Divine justice, having met with miserable and untimely deaths.

Letters were now received from his Majesty Philip V. ordering the Viceroy to establish a garrison at or near some of the southern missions, with the view of re-establishing and promoting

the conquest of the country. The establishment of garrisons had been already commanded by Government, as we have previously said, but from the supineness of underlings, nothing was done; and, to this inattention of Mexican officials must be attributed the losses sustained by religion during the rebellion.

One of the provisions of the newly-made order was to the effect that neither the officers nor soldiers should, in any way, depend upon the Fathers for their position, promotion or discharge. The reasonableness of this resolution may appear to the reader only in accordance with propriety and justice; yet the numerous evils to which it necessarily led, were even more detrimental to religion than the entire absence of all military aid. It was, in reality, only deciding in favor of the military the old question of trading and fishing for pearls. Experience, as we have said, had taught the Religious the dangers and inconveniences of this, and so, to avoid such an evil, it was necessary to strictly prohibit the speculation to all. Moreover, were the Fathers to tolerate such a system, independent of all acts of oppression, the soldiers would become negligent of their military duties; they would grow discontented with their subordinate position, and, in all probability, refuse to accompany the missionaries on their various excursions. That they were not mistaken herein, the subsequent state of affairs abundantly proves, for to such a state

of confusion and disorder did all things arrive, in consequence of the natives being sorely aggrieved, that the country was brought to the verge of another rebellion, which if it happened would, in all probability, have destroyed every vestige of Christianity in the land. The abnormal and confused state of affairs produced at length so many and such frequent complaints, that the Viceroy saw the necessity of changing his policy, and putting the garrison, as before, under the control of the Religious. To this wise regulation, which should never have been altered, was due the subsequent tranquillity of the peninsula, and the happy restoration of religion among the people.

As soon as the disturbed state of the country was brought into order under the renewed authority of the Fathers, new efforts were made by the society for the restoration of the lately destroyed missions. The dispersed Christians were once more gathered together, churches erected, and the services of religion revived. Those places stained with the blood of the missionaries were objects of special attention. The mission of Sanjago, where Father Caranco had been martyred, was entrusted to Father Anthony Tempis, a man of rare and solid virtue. By his constant and unwearied exertions he succeeded in winning back to religion and to habits of piety a remnant of the former inhabitants, among whom he continued to labor till death.

The outlay demanded for quelling the rebellion, as also for the establishment of the lately ruined missions, being more than the Father's resources could conveniently meet, an appeal to the monarch became necessary. The application, it is pleasing to think, was not without fruit. On the 10th of April, 1737, the Viceroy acquainted his Majesty with the state of affairs, and humbly represented that the Society stood in need of the favor of the crown. The representation was immediately attended to. On learning the critical state of affairs and the crippled resources of the Fathers, the King ordered that a garrison should be immediately formed, and the expenses required for completely reducing the country to be paid from the royal exchequer. He demanded, however, that the scheme for the general reduction of the peninsula be forwarded to himself for inspection and approval. A plan was accordingly drawn up and forwarded to Spain, to which, in due time, the royal assent was affixed with instructions for carrying it into effect. But before this could be done, on the 13th of November, 1744, another warrant was forwarded to the Viceroy demanding additional information on the matter. To this an answer was given by the Provincial of the Society at Mexico, but it did not arrive at Madrid till after the death of the King. His successor, Ferdinand VI., was equally interested in the scheme, and repeated his father's instructions to the Viceroy. The

purport of his letter to the Governor was to the effect, that it was the opinion of his council that measures should be immediately taken for the spiritual and temporal subjugation of the peninsula, and that such a result was only to be expected through the energy and zeal of the Jesuit missionary Fathers, under whose fostering care so many and such numerous infidel tribes were brought to a knowledge of the truth. He further expressed a desire that, in the neighborhood of all the principal harbors, there should be formed, as soon as circumstances permitted, Spanish or Mexican settlements, which would serve as a safeguard for vessels and a protection for the missionaries. A Spanish colony was likewise suggested to be settled in the interior, with the view of affording refuge to the Fathers in case of rebellion; while the whole of the frontier missions were to be guarded by troops subject to the Religious, and employed as their escorts when journeying through infidel territory. Further the royal instructions went on to suggest that a point of communication should, if possible, be established between the missions of Sonora and those of California at the entrance of the Colorado, or Red, river. But as the Pimas, the Cocomaricopas and Yumas, the inhabitants of those parts, were still pagan, the missionaries, in order to effect such a junction, should direct their attention to the conversion of those tribes. By these and other like means it was hoped that the entire

reduction of the country, both spiritual and temporal, would be securely accomplished. The royal instructions concluded by assuring the Reverend Fathers that the sums necessary for the accomplishment of these works would be furnished from his Majesty's treasury.

The instructions thus directed to the Governor of New Spain were in every way worthy of an enlightened and politic ruler. It has been stated above, that at the commencement of the Californian missions, Fathers Kühno and Salva Tierra had formed the noble and extensive design of converting and subjecting to Spain all the inhabitants along the Pacific from Mexico to Oregon. In the accomplishment of this it was contemplated that the one—Father Tierra—should carry on the work of conversion through the whole of the peninsula, and the other through the territory of Sonora and the countries of the Papagos and the Cocomaricopas, till he arrived as far north as the present limits of Alta California. That they would have succeeded in the scheme, had they from the beginning had such a monarch as Ferdinand for a patron, there is little reason to doubt.

Before acquainting the reader with the endeavors of the Fathers in seeking to accomplish the royal instructions regarding the juncture to be made on the banks of the Colorado, it is proper, in the first instance, to speak of the situation and boundaries of Sonora. The smallest of the once

Spanish-American possessions, Sonora lies on the eastern side of the California Gulf. It extends from the mouth of the Hiaqui to the country of the Apaches, in a northeasterly direction. The most northern mission was that of Concepcion de Caborca, about three hundred miles from Hiaqui. This mission, which was founded about 1690, was totally destroyed by the savages in an insurrection in 1751, when two of the venerable missionaries, Fathers Thomas Tillo and Henry Rohen, received the palm of martyrdom. In circumference, Sonora is about three hundred and fifty leagues, or one thousand and more miles. It was inhabited by various tribes, known as the Opates, the Topas, the Tejuaianas, etc., among whom the Jesuit Fathers established as many as four-and-twenty missions. The climate is mild, and the general appearance of the country agreeable — diversified mountain ranges and fertile valleys meeting the eye in every direction. Along the coast runs a succession of barren, sandy hills, inhabited, in those days, by a few wandering tribes, who obtained a precarious existence by fishing; but among whom, in consequence of the impediments offered by nature, a mission could never be established.

Besides being a country remarkably adapted for agricultural purposes, as possessing numerous fertile valleys and extensive pasture ranges, Sonora was also known, even then, to be rich in mineral

productions of considerable value. With this double advantage, however, the province was poor, in consequence of the difficulty and expense of working the mines, and the necessity of importing several commodities from abroad.

In 1687, when Father Kühno entered the territory, there was then only one mission in the country, that in the vicinity of Pimeria Alta. How much this remarkable man effected, in reclaiming those wandering savages will never be known. A mere glimpse of his labors is all that is given us by his brother Religious. With a zeal and a fervor worthy of the greatest Apostle, he traversed the country in every direction, preaching the gospel and reclaiming the natives. Neither the privations necessarily connected with a wandering life among the savage inhabitants, whose only means of subsistence was the chase or the spontaneous offerings of nature, nor the fear of falling among barbarous hordes, who might demand, as the penalty of his daring, the sacrifice of his life, were sufficient to prevent him from acting the part of the Apostle. No wonder, under such circumstances, that success should have attended his labors. Everywhere he succeeded in teaching the people religion, and in prevailing upon them to abandon their barbarous state.

The people being of different tribes, and speaking different languages, he had the patience and zeal to learn those different tongues, into which

he translated the catechetical instructions and prayers. He also formed vocabularies and elementary works for the use of his assistants and successors. So great was the success he met with among all classes, that had he, according to his often repeated request, been aided by others, he would, in all probability, have converted the entire country from the Hiaqui to the Colorado. As it was, he baptized with his own hand, and caused to settle down into regular civilized life, *forty thousand* of the inhabitants !¹ But the great difficulties he had to contend with were not so much those arising from an absence of aid, as from the demoralizing, unjustifiable conduct of the Spanish inhabitants. As colonists, it was in the interests of the Europeans, that the Indians should be kept in a state of subjection, and made to serve in the capacity of slaves on the farms and in the mines. Against this system of violence and oppression the venerable man sternly lifted his voice, and constantly struggled with all his endeavors, not only because of the injustice and demoralizing effects it produced on his people, but because it acted as a powerful barrier against future conversion. If the

(1) Bautizó este grande obrero de la viña del Señor mas de quarenta mil de estos Infieles, y pudiera haverse, alargado à muchas mas millares, si huviera tenido esperanza de poderlos en adelante assistir señalandos missionero, que ciudasse de doctrinarles. * * * Lo singular es, que no solo formo Pueblos, y bautizo Indios, sino che en gran parte les reduxo à vida politia, y les enseño à fabricar Casas, construir Iglesias, beneficiar tierras, formar estancias, cuidar gavades, hacer provision de frutos, etc." *Apostolicos Afanes de la Compania de Jesus*; p. 331.

vassalage of the farms and the mines was the only immediate reward to be obtained by embracing the Christian religion, why should the savage cease to be free?

By his constant and unwearied exertions, Father Kühno succeeded at length in obtaining a modification of the atrocities perpetrated on his people. The inhumanity of the Mexican council was relaxed to the extent of only demanding the forced services of the natives five years after the date of their conversion! This was afterwards lengthened by Charles II. to a term of twenty years, but unfortunately for the interests of religion and humanity this order was never observed, and the Father had the mortification of seeing his converts, whom he had civilized with infinite pains, constantly dragged from their homes and buried in the bowels of the earth, whither they were consigned by the avarice and heartlessness of the Spanish inhabitants. The odiousness of this system has rarely or never been equaled by a conquering race; certainly never by a Christian community.

Beside the injustice of the proceeding and the obstacle it was likely to offer to the future conversion of the still uncivilized races, it was further attended with the most lamentable and deplorable consequences as regarded the purity and morality of the people. Huddled together in the greatest confusion, without any restraint or surveillance, the masters having only in view their personal

profit, the morals of the neophytes suffered most fearfully, and crimes were committed, both on the farms and in the mines, over which it is better to draw the veil of oblivion.

To contend successfully against such formidable obstacles was more than an apostle could be expected to do, yet under such special and enormous disadvantages Father Kühno continued to advance the state of religion, and succeeded in establishing even in the face of those formidable difficulties several Christian communities. Some idea of this remarkable missionary's labors may be had from the following: In 1698 he set out on a tour of inspection, and after proceeding as far north as the Gila, turned west till he came to the head of the Gulf. Thence continuing his course to the south, on arriving at the Mission Dolores he had traveled on foot from nine to ten hundred miles. This, in a country destitute of every convenience, wild, rugged and mountainous, and inhabited only by uncivilized races, was a most arduous and perilous adventure. But it was only one of many of a similar kind. During the subsequent years of his ministry he made other equally lengthened, arduous and perilous journeys, sometimes for the purpose of preaching the gospel, sometimes for quelling rebellion, sometimes for reconciling enemies, and sometimes with the view of promoting the people's social condition by instructing them in the means necessary for providing for their temporal wants.

Such was the life of that truly great and remarkable minister of God, and, unhappily for the cause of religion, none others were found of like zeal and ability to continue his noble endeavors. After his death, which happened in 1710, the missions were in a great measure abandoned, the churches in many instances fell into ruins, the cultivation of the land was neglected, and the Christians almost entirely abandoned. For five-and-thirty years after his death some of the faithful never saw the face of a priest, and under such circumstances it is not difficult to see how the faith must have suffered. The old converts in a great measure died out, those who survived retained only a feeble idea of what had been taught them a quarter of a century previous, while the children born in the interim differed but little in habits and customs from the gentiles. Of the fourteen missions founded by the Father only three remained at this time. In 1731 an effort was made to re-establish the missions and revive the religion. At the request of the Bishop of Durango, in whose diocese this section of the country was, his Majesty made an assignment for three missionary priests, to be paid from the royal exchequer. Three Jesuit Fathers accordingly entered the territory and founded, in addition to the missions already established, three others, thereby making in all a total of six with their respective sub-stations. This was the actual state of Pimeria in 1742, when, as

I have stated above, instructions were sent from the Court of Madrid for forming a junction at the mouth of the Colorado with the view of reducing the entire population.

In order to carry out his Majesty's wish as speedily and effectually as possible, two expeditions were now undertaken to determine the state of the country, and the places most proper for forming the new settlements. In 1745, Father Ignatius Keller, in obedience to orders received from his ecclesiastical superiors, set out on a tour of inspection in the direction just named. On arriving at the Gila, he found it impossible to advance, his attendants having refused to accompany him further. The following year, instructions to the same effect were sent to Father Sedelmayer; in accordance with which he proceeded to the point last reached by his predecessor, where he was kindly received by the gentiles. From thence he examined the country in every direction, and found several well-watered tracts, remarkably adapted for agricultural purposes. Here, too, were several tribes, on whom Father Kühno had made the most favorable impression. Taking, then, the natural advantages of the country, as well as the favorable disposition of the people into account, it was thought that by means of six or eight missions, the country could be brought to obedience, and his Majesty's wishes accomplished. But, as the project was one of the greatest importance,

it was deemed proper for the Father to proceed in person to Mexico, and lay an account of his observations before the proper authorities, with the view of having the same made known to the King.

The report drawn up and forwarded to Madrid by the Father Provincial of the Society, amongst other things, contained a petition requesting that the Jesuit missionaries in the diocese of Durango be suffered to relinquish their charge in favor of some others, in order to devote themselves to the conversion of the northern gentiles. In this manner, the number of missionaries being increased, the hopes of success would be proportionately augmented. The Father Provincial further submitted that the allowance of three hundred dollars a year was insufficient for the decent support of those missionaries situated at such distances from Mexico, and that a garrison of one hundred and fifty soldiers should be formed on the Gila for the protection of the Fathers. Although there was nothing directly mentioned in the letter respecting California, it was understood that, if the project succeeded, the Fathers would continue their labors through the northern part of the peninsula till they reached the missions contemplated. While an answer was being awaited from Europe, a statistical account of the Californian missions was drawn up and forwarded to Mexico. From that list, and another formed at a subsequent period, the following was then the general state of religion in the country:

I. The mission of Our Lady of Loretto, situated on the coast in 25 degrees thirty minutes; founded by Father Salva Tierra, October, 1697. This was the capital of the country. Missionary in charge at that date, Father Gaspar de Truxillo. The number of Christians, including soldiers, sailors, etc., was more than four hundred.

II. The mission of St. Francis Xavier; founded by Father F. Piccolo, 1699. Villages—St. Xavier, in 25 degrees 30 minutes; St. Rose, seven leagues W.; St. Michael, eight leagues N.; Augustine, eight leagues S.E.; Dolores, two leagues E.; St. Paul, eight leagues N.W. Missionary, Father Michael Barco. Population, 480.

III. Our Lady of Dolores; founded by Father Tierra, 1699. Villages—Our Lady of Dolores, 24 degrees 30 minutes; Conception; Incarnation; Trinity; Redemption; Resurrection. Missionary, Father C. Guillen. Population, 450.

IV. St. Louis of Gonzaga; founded by Father John Ugarte. Villages—St. Louis of Gonzaga, 25 degrees; St. John of Nepomucene; St. Mary Magdalen. Missionary, Father L. Hotel. Population, 310.

V. St. Joseph of Comandu; founded by Father Mayorga, 1708; without a missionary at that date, on account of the death of Father Wagner, 1744. Villages—1. St. Joseph, 26 degrees; 2. One league W.; 3. Seven leagues N.; 4. Ten leagues E. Population, 360.

VI. St. Rose of Mulege; founded by Father Basualda, 1705. Villages—St. Rose, 26 degrees, 50 minutes; Holy Trinity, six leagues S. S. E.; St. Mark, eight leagues N. Missionary, Father Peter Mary Nascimben. Population, 300.

VII. Immaculate Conception; founded by Father Nicolas Tamaral, in 1718. Villages—six. Missionary, Father Druet. Population, 330.

VIII. Our Lady of Guadalupe; founded by Father John Ugarte and Father Everard Helen, 1721. Villages—Our Lady of Guadalupe, in 27 degrees; Conception, six leagues S.; St. Michael, six leagues S. E.; Sts. Peter and Paul, eight leagues E.; St. Mary, five leagues N. Missionary, Father Casteige. Population, 530.

IX. St. Ignatius; founded by Father Luyando, 1728. Villages—St. Ignatius, in 28 degrees; St. Borgia, eight leagues distant; St. Joaquin, three leagues distant; St. Sabas, three leagues distant; St. Athanasius, five leagues distant; St. Monica, seven leagues distant; St. Martha, seven leagues distant; St. Lucay, ten leagues distant; St. Nymfa, five leagues distant. Missionary, Father Sebastian de Sestiago. Population, 650.

X. Our Lady of Dolores of the North. This mission was connected with that of St. Ignatius, and attended by Fathers Sestiago and Consag. It was situated in the 29th degree of latitude, and comprised a district of some thirty leagues. Population, 548.

XI. St. Mary Magdalen; established by Father Consag. Population not given.

XII. St. James. Villages—Three; missionary, Father Tempis. Population, 350.

XIII. All Saints; founded about 1737. Population, 90.

XIV. St. Francis Borgia. Population, 1500.

XV. St. Gertrude. Population, 1000.

XVI. St. Mary. Population, 330.

Total number of Christians in all the missions, 7,628.

While negotiations were being carried on with the Court of Madrid, for the conversion of the northern tribes on the opposite side of the gulf, the southern missions were visited by Heaven with a terrible chastisement, in punishment, it would seem, for the crimes of the people during the time of revolt. New and irremediable distempers broke out in the community, to which thousands fell victims. So great were the numbers that died from those various diseases, from the year 1742 to 1748, that hardly a sixth of the whole population survived. The labors of the missionaries during those calamitous years, were proportionately great. The general spread of the disease, and its continuance in the country, constantly demanded their presence in almost every quarter. Their anxiety was not even confined to the due discharge of their spiritual functions, for, at such a time, the corporeal as well as the spiritual wants of the sufferers

called for relief. In such a continuous struggle with death and disease, it is not to be regarded as strange, that their overtaxed energies should have succumbed to the difficulties by which they were surrounded. Hence the ravages death began to make in their numbers. Two years after the appearance of the disease, Father Bravo fell a victim to his charitable endeavors. He was one of the oldest and most efficient of the body. On coming to the country, he was only a lay-brother; but, on account of his remarkable merits, and the great want of missionary hands, he was subsequently raised to the priesthood. He arrived in California in 1705, in company with Father Salva Tierra, and had, consequently labored for the missions at the time of his death nineteen years; during eight of which he governed the mission of La Paz.

Father Bravo's death was followed by that of Father Anthony Tempis, who, as we have seen, was charged with the restoration of the mission of Santiago, destroyed by the Pericues. At the time of his demise the mission was in a better and more prosperous condition than before its destruction. His persevering, apostolic exertions succeeded remarkably in conciliating the people and winning them back to a virtuous life. Impressed with the great importance and necessity of early instruction, he took every means of teaching the young, and of instilling into their minds sentiments of piety and virtue. He had them constantly with

him, corrected their faults, strengthened their weaknesses, supported their failings, and in every manner as the most tender of parents endeavored, both by word and example, to impress upon their minds lessons of holiness and sanctity. His affection for the young was no greater than his care of the infirm. In the epidemic, of which I have spoken, and to which so many fell victims, his charity was more than remarkable. When unable to walk, whenever duty demanded his presence, he would have himself carried through the mountains to the sufferers, his continual expression being that of the Society: "All for the greater glory of God." In fine, after a most holy and apostolic career, he died in the odor of sanctity at the mission of Santiago in 1746—a victim to his zeal and unwearied exertions in behalf of the poor.

The following year the missions suffered an equally irreparable loss in the departure for Mexico, at the command of authority, of Father Sebastian Sestiago. One by one the great lights were passing away—either sinking into the grave or necessitated to abandon the field of their labors by reason of infirmity. Father Sestiago, who was of Mexican extraction, was born at Tepustucula in 1684. He entered the Society when young, and gained the general esteem of his companions, as well by his virtue as by his ability. While professor of belles-lettres he was appointed to the Californian mission, whither he immediately re-

paired. During the twenty-nine years he lived in the country he propagated religion across the whole of the peninsula. Frequently he would sally forth into the mountains in quest of the savages, having only for his support a little corn in a sack. There, deprived of the ordinary comforts of life, he would remain preaching and catechizing till his presence was demanded elsewhere. What he suffered on those occasions, having to accommodate himself to the barbarous life of the people—exposed to the inclemency of the season—can be hardly conceived. It was thus he learned to dispense with the use of a bed (a luxury he never allowed himself toward the end of his days), for having to lead the same life as the people, he was obliged to sleep on the ground. He always slept in his clothes, and rose ordinarily *two hours before day*, in order to occupy himself in prayer and preparation for the holy sacrifice of the Mass. At times while making excursions through the woods in company with his neophytes, he would cry out in a transport of zeal: “Come—oh! come all to the faith of Jesus Christ; oh! who will make them all Christians and conduct them to Heaven!” So little was his heart attached to temporal things, that on an occasion when his people presented him with some pearls they had picked up on the shore after a storm, he ordered them to go and throw them back into the sea! At last, worn out by in-

firmities and tormented by scruples to which he became an involuntary prey, he was temporarily ordered to Mexico, where he departed this life in most eminent sanctity, on the 22d of June, 1756.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DEATH OF FATHER GUILLEN. — DEATH OF DON RODRIGUEZ LORENZO. — PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONS. — CONVERSIONS BY FATHER RETZ. — HIS DEATH. — ATTEMPT OF THE GENTILES TO DESTROY THE SOUTHERN MISSIONS. — DEATH OF FATHER NEUMAYER. — SILVER MINES OPENED IN THE COUNTRY. — EVIL COUNSEL OF THE SPANIARDS. — DISCONTENT OF THE CONVERTS. — DECREASE IN THE FEMALE POPULATION. — DANGERS THREATENING THE SOCIETY IN EUROPE. — UNJUST PROCEEDINGS TAKEN AGAINST IT IN PORTUGAL AND FRANCE.

THE year following the departure of Father Sestiago, the mission was deprived by death of the presence of Father Guillen, who had acted for some time as Provincial of the Society in California. This missionary's career extended over a period of four-and-twenty years; during which, his life was admittedly a model of every virtue. It was to him that the Mission of Dolores, in the country of the Guacuros, owed its existence; and his success may be learned from the fact that by his individual exertions he converted the greater part of that barbarous people. A single example will suffice to illustrate his zeal for the salvation of the gentiles.

Shortly prior to his death there happened to arrive at the mission, from a distant part of the country a gentile woman considerably advanced in years. As no one in the vicinity understood a word of her language, it was found impossible to

properly instruct her in the principles of religion. That, however, an opportunity might be afforded her of embracing the truth, Father Guillen, with the weight of years already pressing heavily upon him (being then seventy or more), undertook to learn her language. He did not, indeed, succeed in his purpose, for he was overtaken by death while engaged in his charitable work; but, if he did not gain the soul of the poor creature to Christ, he has left upon record one of the noblest and most praiseworthy deeds to be met with in the history of missionary life. *

During those calamitous years, while death was so rife among the missionary body, it was not to be expected that the Government officers would escape without loss. The same year that witnessed the death of Father Tempis, saw also the last moments of Don Rodriguez Lorenzo, who for several years had held the post of Captain and Governor of the country. This was by no means an unimportant event in the history of the missions; for, by his ability, prudence and zeal, this venerable Catholic had contributed much to the interests of religion. Indeed, it was to him that the Fathers were indebted for a large share of the success they attained in the country. Wherever a new mission was to be established, he invariably attended in person, accompanied by his men; and this not merely with the view of defending the Religious against the attacks of the savages, but

to aid in making the roads and erecting the buildings. Though Captain and Governor, he was first in every laborious employment; in order that by his example, the soldiers and Indians might be encouraged to labor. His morals were as pure as his example was attractive. Daily he assisted at the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and the other exercises of the missions. Duty never found him for a moment absent from his post. In fine, after a life remarkable for several virtues, he died on the first of November, 1746, at the ripe old age of four score years. He was succeeded by his son, Bernard, who inherited all his remarkable qualities, both civil and religious.

The very severe and, indeed, in some instances, apparently irreparable losses to the missions of the above-mentioned persons, was not suffered by Divine Providence to interfere with the progress of religion in the country. On the retirement of Father Sestiago from the Mission of St. Ignatius, in 1747, Father Consag took charge of that place, and labored with such profit, that in the space of four years, he had converted, in the vicinity of the mission, five hundred and forty-eight of the gentiles—a work of no ordinary moment, when we consider the constant call upon his labors by the converted during those calamitous times. A sufficient number of converts being thus formed, it was desirable they should be gathered together, and a mission established for their special advan-

tage. With this object in view, Father Consag set out from St. Ignatius, in 1751, in order to determine a locality proper for the new mission. He was accompanied by the Governor, an escort, and some neophytes. After traveling a considerable distance without meeting with the object of their search, they at last chanced upon a path which, when followed, brought them to a point where their attention was arrested on seeing a number of arrows pierced through a branch. This they understood as an intimation on the part of the savages that any one daring to pass by that way would be similarly treated. But, as the escort was strong, they continued their journey till they came up with the Indians, who, instead of being hostile, received them as friends. The people were, however, very much alarmed on beholding the horses, never having seen such in their lives. The object of the expedition was now fully attained. Here was a place with all the requirements proper for a new settlement—a fertile valley, abundant water, and friendly Indians. Before returning, the Father administered baptism to the little ones dangerously ill, and, as some of them died shortly after, he had the consolation of knowing that even so far his journey was not without profit.

On returning to St. Ignatius, Father Consag immediately set about dispatching a number of workmen for the erection of the necessary buildings. These being completed, the mission was

entrusted to the Rev. Father Retz, an Austrian, who took possession of it in the Summer of 1752. According to an old established custom, by which all the missionaries were expected to contribute something to every newly-established settlement, each of the Fathers bestowed on his brother Religious the little his limited means would permit. These offerings were chiefly of corn and cattle. In this manner the first wants of the people were supplied and the interests of religion subserved. The mission commenced under the most favorable auspices; for it numbered from the outset about six hundred converts, collected from different parts. To these others were speedily added, for as soon as the newly-made Christians informed their brethren of the character of the religion, the necessity of baptism and the kindness of the Father, the people began to flock to the place, and what was at first only a mere curiosity, ended at length in conversion to the faith. Thus in a few years Father Retz found himself at the head of a congregation of fourteen hundred Christians. Every convert, on being received into the Church, received from the Father a little crucifix, which he was expected to wear on his neck that he might be constantly reminded of his faith, and the invaluable blessings of the work of redemption.

Shortly after the establishment of this mission a camp was formed at a short distance on account of the great abundance of water. Here the Father

took care to produce the necessary supplies for his people—the plantation of a vineyard and fruit-trees being amongst his earliest cares. Before long he had an abundant supply of maize, wheat and garden productions for his flock. His method of making and preserving the wine deserves a passing notice. The construction of barrels being under the circumstances entirely impossible, he resorted to the ingenious method of hollowing great masses of rock, in which he fermented and preserved the precious liquor. The rapid increase of the faithful suggested the importance of forming another little settlement, but before carrying out this benevolent purpose death summoned him to his heavenly reward. He died in the month of September, 1759, at the age of fifty-six years, seven-and-twenty of which he spent for the benefit of the people. By birth, as we have said, he was Austrian, and arrived in California in 1732. It is difficult, says his biographer, to estimate the extraordinary efforts he made for the establishment of the faith. Though laboring under a constitutional weakness, he was constantly on the alert seeking new places for the establishment of additional missions; preaching the gospel to the gentiles, or instructing his own. When, on his journeys, necessity compelled him to halt in order to refresh his companions, he invariably, unmindful of his own toil and weariness of body, betook himself to prayer, and sought refreshment in com-

munion with his God. Indeed, it is impossible, on reading the lives of such men, not to be struck with the remarkable likeness they bear to the most eminent saints of the Church. Dead to the world, to society, to themselves and everything human, they seem to have been animated with only one ardent desire, that of propagating the kingdom of God amongst men. To this end they labored, they toiled, prayed, preached and conformed to the miserable life of the people. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered that a country, hallowed by the foot-prints of such men, should have turned from paganism and barbarism to Christianity and civilization.

The death of Father Consag prevented for the time the establishment of the newly-projected mission, for the Religious destined for that purpose had to continue where he was. Meantime, everything was done to facilitate its future establishment. A road of communication was formed between it and the last mentioned mission; a church, barracks and a presbytery constructed, the people further enlightened, and nothing save the appointment of the missionary himself left unaccomplished. Nor was the presence of the Father delayed very long; for Father Wenceslaus Link, a native of Bohemia, having arrived in the country at this time, was sent to take charge of the place. He found on arrival three hundred Indians, converts of the late Father Retz; to these others were

speedily added by himself, the numbers continuing to increase till after a time it was found necessary to enlarge the little church.

While congratulating himself on the success of his labors, the enemy of mankind was plotting the destruction of his work. The more evil-disposed of the gentiles living at a distance, seeing that numbers were constantly repairing to the Father and enrolling themselves among the believers, took umbrage at this encroachment on their faith; and in order the more effectually to prevent its continuance, determined, by a general massacre, to destroy every vestige of Christianity in that part of the peninsula. News of the intended revolt happening by some means to reach the ears of the Christians, it was determined to give the savages such a lesson that they would not readily entertain so bloody a purpose; and it was even deemed proper not to await the approach of the enemy, but to go forth and encounter him on his own ground. The forces of the two missions which were to be the object of the attack were accordingly marshaled, and on marching into the enemy's territory, fortunately surprised and captured him without striking a blow. The prisoners were conducted to the mission, where they were incarcerated for some days, and then set at liberty. The leaders, however, received a fuller measure of justice, for before being granted their liberty they received a certain number of lashes. Thus the

incipient rebellion was quelled, and a result never contemplated by the people attained; for, affected at what they had seen at the mission, these very barbarians, as in the case of those who attacked the Christians under the care of Father Laymundo, requested to be enrolled among the believers, a favor which was granted them after the sincerity of their request has been sufficiently proved.

Two years after the foundation of the last mentioned mission, dedicated to the great St. Francis Borgia, another of the old pioneer missionaries, Father Charles Neumayer, departed this life at All Saints. Father Neumayer's career in California extended over a period of twenty years, during which, like his brethren, he was remarkable for great zeal and holiness of life. His character seems to have been to accommodate himself to every circumstance, the better to gain the affections of all, and thereby promote more securely the interest of his heavenly Master. In the fields, he labored in company with the cultivators of the soil. On sea, he took his net and assisted the fishermen. At home, he was an architect, a carpenter, a blacksmith, or whatever else the circumstances demanded. The wonderful providence of God, which overruleth and disposeth all things according to appointment, never failed to provide for the pressing wants of the missions. Whenever death removed any of the Fathers, others were found ready to step into their place. Two months before

the death of the above-mentioned Father, two other Religious, Fathers Franco and Ames arrived in the country.

We now approach a perilous period in the history of the Californian missions, when the conduct of the Spanish inhabitants began to prove the most serious embarrassment to the Fathers. Hitherto the missionaries had to contend, as we have seen, against the coldness, neglect and indifference of government, the inhospitable nature of the country, and the evil dispositions of the people. Now an additional, and in some measure more formidable, obstacle was thrown in their way, by the evil example and pernicious advice of the Spanish inhabitants. While the missions were successfully progressing through the country, Don Manuel de Ocio, an enterprising Spaniard, entered upon a mining speculation in the southern part of the peninsula, in the country of the Pericues. For the accomplishment of his object, miners were imported from New Spain; but, unhappily, their lives were not a model for Christians to follow. Demoralization, debauchery, and neglect of religion followed as natural consequences. Their advice was even more pernicious than their morals. Hostile to the system established by the Fathers, they everywhere disturbed the peace and tranquillity of the Christian congregations, by telling them that the Mexican Indians were entirely independent of the Religious; that they paid tribute

to none but the monarch; possessed their own lands free from control, and were in all things independent to act as they pleased, provided only they attended the services of the church. The consequence of these unseasonable suggestions was that the newly-converted Indians, so unfit to provide for their own natural wants, unless directed by authority, immediately demanded that the lands be handed over to their charge, that they might be at liberty to dispose of them as they pleased. They further required that the vessels belonging to the mission be put at their disposal, that they might be able to go whithersoever they chose. To some their demands may appear only reasonable, but when it is remembered that this people, only recently reclaimed from a savage, indolent life, abhorred every manner of labor, and never took thought for the future, the matter assumes a different aspect in our eyes. To hand over the lands to them at such a time, while their habits were only yet partially formed, would be to consign them to certain neglect, and to fail in making the necessary provision for the future.

As regarded the restriction laid on their liberty, they were in a better position under the rule of the Fathers than in their savage condition; for, while gentile, they were prohibited entering each other's dominions on account of the hereditary feuds that existed between them, whereas, on becoming Christians, they could pass from one sec-

tion of the country to the other at the will of the missionaries. Had the Fathers readily complied with their desires the loss would not, indeed, have been theirs, but the people's.

Another cause of considerable discontent was the remarkable decrease in the female community. To what this is to be attributed it might be difficult to say, yet it is none the less certain, that while polygamy existed, the female population was considerably greater than the male,¹ whereas, on the introduction of Christianity, nine tenths of the people in some of the missions were males. As it is not stated by any author whether the number of births was unequal, perhaps the key to the solution of the difficulty may be found in the numerous disorders which at that period prevailed in the country, and to which the female community may have the more readily succumbed as being the weaker.

The ill-disposed, turbulent Christians, seeing that the Fathers were unwilling to accede to their petition, assembled in council, and petitioned the Mexican government to banish the Religious from the country, and put in their stead government officials, to whom they would pay tribute for his Majesty. The pretensions set forth in the petition were the extreme of extravagance. Men who were unable to provide for themselves could not be reasonably expected to pay tribute to a gov-

(1) See *Clavigero's Life*.

ernment. In order to carry their complaint before the proper authorities, twenty of the conspirators seized upon the vessel of the mission and set sail for Mexican waters. On reaching the opposite coast they altered their purpose at the entreaty of the missionary Father at that port, and returned to California. Their minds, however, being unsettled, another attempt was made by them a little later on, but with equal success, after which they abandoned their foolish pretensions, and reconciled themselves to the existing state of affairs.

At this time the Provincial of the Fathers' Society at Mexico—Father Francis Cevallos—offered the Viceroy to renounce all the Californian missions, and those of New Spain, in order that the missionaries might be employed to greater advantage among the gentiles of the north. As the matter was one of the greatest importance the Governor was unwilling to act of himself, but consulted his council, by which it was determined that the matter should be referred to the Bishops and their opinion demanded. An answer in the negative having been received the offer was declined. The singleness of purpose manifested in this cannot be too highly extolled. These venerable men, after toiling for near three quarters of a century, were now ready, after having brought the people to a tolerable degree of civilization, to resign their advantages in favor of less self-sacrific-

ing ministers of religion, and to go forth to do battle anew against paganism, idolatry and barbarism in the hitherto unexplored regions of the north. This generous offer was followed by another equally worthy of record. In 1767, the year before the expulsion of the Fathers, a wealthy Mexican Lady, Donna Josepha de Arguellas, donated to the mission property to the amount of six hundred thousand dollars. The due application of this would doubtless have advanced the state of religion considerably, but the Fathers, unwilling to give the enemies of the Society any grounds for reproach, generously came to the conclusion of renouncing the whole in favor of Government.

The time was now near at hand when their labors were to draw to a close in the Californian missions, after a remarkably successful career of seventy years. For a considerable time a triple alliance had been formed in Europe against the Society of which they were members. Jansenism, Protestantism and Infidelity, had joined in their efforts to accomplish their ruin. On the accession to the Portuguese throne of Joseph I., Don Sebastian Carvalho, Count of Oeyras, and afterwards Marquis of Pombal, was raised to the position of first minister of the crown by the influence of Father Joseph Moreira, who unhappily mistook the character of the man. From that moment the destruction of the Society within the limits of the

Portuguese kingdom was a matter of certainty. Its accomplishment was only a matter of time and detail. Pombal's design from the outset was even larger than the ruin of the Jesuit body. He contemplated the entire destruction of Catholicity in the country. This he hoped to effect by placing a member of the Protestant religion on the throne—a scheme, for the realization of which, he looked for success by forming a marriage alliance between the Princess of Berry and the representative of the dukedom of Cumberland. In this he had naturally to expect much opposition at the hands of the Jesuit Fathers, then highly in favor with royalty. Hence the necessity in the first instance of removing the Religious from the precincts of the court. This done, the unscrupulous minister would be able to manage, according to pleasure, the naturally weak-minded, indolent monarch by flattering his inclination and passions. But as the matter was one of greatest importance it was necessary to proceed with much caution. Suspicions were first to be created in his Majesty's breast regarding the loyalty of the Fathers, a matter which was to be effected by imputing sinister designs to their conduct. Then all the charges and crimes, no matter how atrocious and unscrupulous, which the libertinism, infidelity and heresy of the period had made against the Society, were to be brought under his notice, all of which was to be guarded by the king with the most scrupulous secrecy.

The plan succeeded remarkably, according to the desire of the author. Don Pedro, the king's brother, who was then popular with all classes of the community, was seeking to ingratiate himself into the affections of the people, with the view of supplanting his brother. In this he was aided by the members of the Society, whose influence with all classes was no secret to any. A little more and the monarch would be deprived of his throne. Such were the unblushing and audacious assertions of the unscrupulous minister; and, unfortunately for justice and humanity, they found favor with the king. To back up and confirm the calumnious charges, all the accusations that free-thinkers, libertines and heretics had ever put into writing against the Society were laid before Joseph, and scattered broadcast among the people. The result is fearful to contemplate. Iniquity triumphed for the time. The king's mind was embittered to a degree; good men were amazed; society was taken by surprise; the scheme was a success. Pombal saw his advantage, and that the moment had arrived for striking the first blow.

On the pretence of having cast improper reflections on the conduct of the minister, two of the Religious, Fathers Ballister and Fonseca were arrested and banished the country. This was to prepare the way for a fuller measure of injustice, which was to be the banishment of the entire body. The terrible earthquake, however, which visited

the country at that moment, shaking the capital to its foundation, stayed for a while the atrocities of the Government. But it was only for a little, for as soon as the effects of the disaster began to pass from men's minds, the former iniquitous proceedings were resumed. New charges were laid to the count of the Fathers, but of an entirely different character. Before it was ambition, now it is avarice. Some difficulty having been experienced in the management of the Paraguayan dependencies, the Fathers were charged with being the authors of the dissension, with the view of obtaining possession of the gold mines. One of the Society, too, it was audaciously asserted, was made Emperor of the country under the title of Nicolas I.! A currency was issued bearing the effigy of the Jesuit monarch! The clumsiness of this calumny was too much for the country. Wise men smiled—wicked men laughed; while the virtuous and upright treated it with the scorn and contempt that it merited; yet, with all its absurdity, there were those who, because it originated at Court, made it the fashion of the hour and the test of good breeding to give it, at least, an external assent.

Meantime, the Jesuit Fathers continued at Court as confessors to the king and his family; but Pomбал, seeing that his artifices were likely to be unavailing as long as the monarch could be approached by the Religious, had all the members of the So-

ciety attendant on Court banished from the palace, on the plea of conspiring against the State. At the same time, he removed from their offices all the secular officers opposed to his plans; handed over the universities to Protestants, Jansenists and infidel teachers, and isolated the king from all but those of his party.

While these iniquitous proceedings were being enacted at Lisbon, the philosophers and free-thinkers of France were working for a like end at the Court of Louis XV. Among other things, the destruction of the Parliament, in 1753, was charged to the Jesuits, though, in reality, they had nothing to do with it. They were also accused of influencing the queen and the dauphin, of ruling the Archbishop of Paris and the Bishop of Mirepoix; but the chief accusation brought by their enemies, was that they had procured an assassin to take the life of the monarch. The only proof that could be advanced in support of this terrible charge was that the man Damisus, who attempted the king's life, had been formerly in the service of the Fathers. But as the same man had been also in the service of several members of Parliament, the conclusion would have been equally logical had they too been accused of the crime. It was not necessary, however, that such a deduction should be drawn; the Fathers had to be criminated and nobody else.

Pombal, finding that his calumnies against the

Society were not as satisfactory in their results as he desired, essayed to make use of the powers of the Church. With this view, on the ground that some of the members were applying themselves in the Brazils to commercial pursuits, contrary to the canons of the Church, he applied to Benedict XIV. for a reformation of the Society. The object of this new mode of proceeding was to obtain grounds for criminating the body; for, by a commission of inquiry to be carried on under the eyes of the minister, the complicity of the members was certain to be established, and thus a pretext would be had for banishing all from the country. The sovereign Pontiff, being then in delicate health, allowed himself to be persuaded, at the earnest solicitations of the enemies of the Society, to grant the solicited brief. It was addressed to the Cardinal Saldanha, who was named visitor of the Houses in Portugal, and charged with its execution. Fearing, shortly after, lest the inquiry might be used for a sinister motive, and turned to the injury of the Society, the enfeebled Pontiff addressed another brief to the same Cardinal, modifying the powers granted in the first. In the second the Inquisitor was commanded not to proceed farther than a private inquiry, to form no definite conclusion, but to make a conscientious report to the Pontiff himself, to whom the right of a final decision was reserved. These positive instructions, in a great measure, annulled the preceding, and

would, if attended to, have entirely defeated the scheme. Pombal, therefore, to obviate the embarrassment, determined upon regarding the second instructions, or brief, as the *hallucinations of a dying man!* There was, however, another difficulty now in the way. Benedict XIV. died on the 3d of May, 1758, and the brief, authorizing an examination into the religious houses of the Jesuits, was not yet forwarded to the Brazils—a circumstance which rendered its execution invalid in that quarter. For, by the canons of the Church, all briefs not executed prior to the death of the Pope are by the fact of no force in those parts where they had not been previously executed. But as the Brazils were exactly that part of the kingdom where a pretext was expected to be found for incriminating the Fathers, the minister disregarded the Cardinal's scruples, if ever he had any, and had a decree of the Council drawn up, ordering the publication and execution of the document as well in Brazil as in Portugal. It is true that even there no species of commerce, properly so called, was carried on by the Religious. There was, indeed, an *exchange*, for the necessary commodities required by the missionaries; but for this, permission had been obtained from the king and the sovereign Pontiff. The pretext, however, was sufficient, and, accordingly, a mandatory letter was issued by the Cardinal, declaring that the missionaries were violating the laws of the Church, and

engaging in commercial pursuits. Later on, on the 7th of June of the same year (1758), they were interdicted by the Patriarch of Lisbon, in the whole of his diocese. Everything now seemed to declare against the Society; the tide of success, however, once more turned in their favor. One month after their interdict, Cardinal Bezzonico was raised to the Popedom, under the title of Clement XIII. The new Pope was strongly in favor of the Society, and determined at all hazards, to defend it against the wiles of its enemies; which, when Pombal came to perceive, he sought other and more effectual means for effecting his purpose.

On the third of September, Joseph I., while returning from an entertainment, given by one of the principal noblemen of the kingdom—the marquis of Tavora—was fired at and slightly wounded, it is said, in the shoulder. The plot, which originated with Pombal, was made to serve a double purpose. The marquis, having refused his daughter in marriage to the minister, the latter was determined to be revenged on him; and this was the manner he sought to accomplish his purpose. Ten days later, the marquis and his entire family, with the exception of the daughter, were brought to the scaffold; and this because that virtuous nobleman refused to enter into a married alliance with the iniquitous Pombal. The next purpose the attack upon the king's life was made to subserve, was the ruin of the Jesuits. As they

were friendly with the Tavoras, they were declared to be accomplices in the act. Their banishment was, consequently, a matter of certainty, and expected at any moment; but, in order to create still greater odium against them, and thus, apparently, exculpate himself in the step he was going to take, the minister had the unheard of audacity to publish over *the signature of several of the Fathers a most satirical and libellous charge against the king.*

This outrageous and unparalleled proceeding so alarmed the Episcopacy, that they appealed to the sovereign Pontiff to interpose his authority and save the Society and religion from such terrible outrages. The time, however, was too late. Pombal had gone too far to retrace his steps; and then, under the plea of reforming the Society and providing for its interests, he caused fifteen hundred Jesuits to be arrested and cast into dungeons, confiscating, at the same time, all the property of which they were owners !

CHAPTER XIX.

POMBAL ATTEMPTS TO USE THE POPE FOR HIS OWN PURPOSES. — HE FORGES A BRIEF IN THE NAME OF HIS HOLINESS. — BANISHES THE FATHERS FROM THE COUNTRY. — DRIVES THEM FROM ALL THE DEPENDENCIES. — SENDS MOST OF THEM TO ITALY. — FATHER MALAGRIDA BURNED AT THE STAKE. — CONSPIRACY OF THE FREE-THINKERS FOR THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SOCIETY. — PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH PARLIAMENT. — EFFORTS OF THE FRENCH CLERGY IN BEHALF OF THE RELIGIOUS. — DEPRIVED OF ALL THEIR POSSESSIONS BY THE HIGH COURT OF PARIS. — OPINIONS OF PROTESTANTS ON THIS. — THE KING REFUSES TO SIGN AN EDICT FOR THEIR BANISHMENT. — CLEMENT XIII. IN THEIR FAVOR. — ANTIPATHY TO THE SOCIETY IN SPAIN. — FALSE CHARGES AGAINST IT. — THEIR EXPULSION FROM THE SPANISH DOMINIONS. — DEPARTURE FROM CALIFORNIA.

ALTHOUGH the suppression of the Society of St. Ignatius of Loyola, in the kingdom of Portugal, forms no part of Californian history, yet, as it bears indirectly on our subject, having led to the subsequent banishment of the Fathers from these parts by the King of Spain, it has been deemed proper to place the more prominent features thereof before the mind of the reader.

After the accomplishment of the atrocious proceedings narrated in the closing paragraph of the preceding chapter, the unscrupulous minister of Joseph I., as if to exhaust his effrontery, wrote to the sovereign Pontiff, acquainting him with the measures he had taken, and requesting an approval of his acts. Audacity could hardly go further. It was attempting to make the Vicar of

Christ an accomplice in a most ignoble and iniquitous proceeding. Yet even this was not the entire of his daring.

Finding that the solicited brief of approval was not likely to be granted, Pombal wrote to his ambassador at Rome, ordering him to draw up, in the name of the Pontiff, a document such as he desired, and to have it immediately forwarded to Lisbon. The minister was equal to the occasion, and in compliance with his master's desires, framed the solicited brief, in which he made Clement approve of all his master's proceedings, pointing out at the same time the disposition that was to be made of the confiscated property. This shameful proceeding succeeded for the moment and strengthened for the time the hands of the minister. Meanwhile the true document having arrived, the treachery was discovered, and the author of the forgery covered with infamy. But what cared so profligate and reckless a man for the anger and indignation of the people? He had only one object in view, and that he was determined on effecting at every hazard and under every circumstance. To make the Pope a partner in his crime he had relied in the first instance upon cunning and fraud, but finding these unavailing he resorted to threats and to violence, declaring he would estrange the entire country from the Catholic religion unless the sovereign Pontiff approved of his acts. Defeated even in this he finally resolved upon clearing his

prisons, and shipping all the incarcerated Religious to Rome, hoping thereby at least to torment and embarrass his Holiness. Accordingly on the first September, 1759, in accordance with the orders of Pombal, the first batch of the Fathers, consisting of one hundred and thirty-three members, was shipped for Civita Vecchia. They were crowded on board a miserable merchantman, entirely unequal to the accommodation of so many, and almost utterly destitute of the most necessary provisions. Their only earthly possessions were their breviaries and their crucifixes.

It may here occur to the reader to inquire if the cruelty and injustice of the minister were shared in by the people at large. By no means. The people were strongly attached to the Fathers. A single word and Pombal would have been hurled into the Tagus, but that word the Fathers never would utter. Nay, they did everything in their power to appease the anger of the people, using their entire influence to induce them to submit to authority.

The same proceedings which were adopted in Portugal against the Religious were also enacted in the dependencies against the same body, with equal, if not greater severity. In the east and the west, wherever Portuguese missions were established, the Fathers were seized, hurried on board miserable vessels and forwarded to Lisbon. On arriving in the Tagus, those who were natives,

were immediately ordered to Italy, while the foreigners were cast into prisons. This was an artful and politic move of the minister, lest the friends of the former, incited by their sufferings, might rise in their favor.

The reception they met with in Italy was most consoling to their feelings, and calculated to assuage the bitterness of their sufferings. The secular and regular clergy, with the nobility and people, vied with each other in showing them every mark of respect, and in providing for their necessary wants. At Civita Vecchia the Dominicans had a monument erected in commemoration of their trials, while the sovereign Pontiff received them with a tenderness and affection worthy of a Father for his suffering children. In this the implacable minister of Portugal could not help being able to see the true light in which his execrable conduct was regarded by others. But even that was insufficient to arrest him in his headlong career. Hitherto he had only been guilty of cruelty, barbarity and injustice to the Fathers, but now he was going to add a more horrible crime to his list of enormities. Amongst the Religious who were then imprisoned at the capital was a venerable missionary—Father Gabriel de Malagrida, an Italian, who had spent a great part of his life in the Brazils. He had grown gray in service of religion, and was sixty-nine years of age at the time of his arrest. On the plea of having written some ob-

jectionable works upon prophecy and vision, the venerable man was arraigned before the Inquisitorial Assembly, and though the writings in which he was said to have erred were never produced, the minister's word being taken instead, Father Malagrida was convicted of blasphemy and heresy, and condemned to be burnt alive—a fate which he courageously met on the 21st of September, 1761 !

Even the greatest enemy of religion was shocked at this act. “ Thus,” says Voltaire, “ was the extreme of absurdity added to the extreme of horror.” To thoroughly understand the nature of the hostility directed against the Society of the Jesuits at this time, it is necessary to remember the character of the age. No other period of modern times presents such a lamentable example in the history of Catholic Europe.

Nations which had hitherto remained firm in their profession of Catholic truth, were now seriously disturbed by the false philosophical systems of the time. The character assumed by the new opponents of religion was different from that of the immediately preceding century. Disbelieving every form of Christian faith, the new instructors of the human mind looked upon all religion as a mere human invention, and, by a process of reasoning peculiar to themselves, essayed to establish the doctrine of reason instead of the religion of Christ. In France, which was the focus of the

movement, the party was represented by Voltaire, Rousseau, Volney, Bayle and others. The well-known motto of the chief was the terrible expression: "Ecraser l'infame."—"To crush the infamous one," by which he understood the religion of the Redeemer. To this end, we are assured he vowed his whole life and his entire talents; yet the hour at last came when that impious man despairingly solicited the aid of that religion which he had so horribly outraged.

The constant and leading assertion of the sceptical Bayle was, that society could never be prosperous or properly organized till deprived of every religious idea. Of Damilaville, Voltaire himself said, in the bitterest irony, that though he did not deny the existence of God, yet he *hated* the Almighty. Rousseau, Volney and Dupuis employed themselves in discrediting the miracles of the gospel, and the existence of scriptural personages Diderot taught atheism; and Holbach, Condillac and Helvetius, materialism. The works in which this band of iniquitous men embodied their thoughts, and sought to perpetuate their erroneous philosophy, was the memorable Encyclopedia—a work which an eminent Catholic writer has termed "a real tower of Babel, reared by the genius of hell against God and His Christ." In that horrible serial, Nature was made to take the place of the Almighty, religion was declared to be an invention of man, human nature lowered to the

standard of the brute, and the existence of the future regarded as a myth.

The accomplices of these irreligious minds were the parliaments and the ministers of the Catholic powers. Pombal, in Portugal, d'Aranda, in Spain, Tanucci, at Naples, and Choiseul, in France, were all on their side. The object of the leaders of the party being the entire destruction of religion, it is not to be wondered that their hatred was directed in the first instance against the glorious Society of the Jesuits, then numbering twenty-two thousand learned, zealous, devoted champions of Catholic truth. The destruction of the Society, they falsely imagined, would involve the destruction of religion, never remembering that the church of the Redeemer was not founded on any body of men, but established on the immovable Rock of Ages.

In this project of the philosophers and free-thinkers, the reader has before his mind the veritable causes which led to the persecution and hatred of the Jesuit body at that time. And so much has been deemed necessary to be said in explanation of the fact, for it is to be feared there are many even among Catholics, who, because the Fathers were banished by Catholic powers, incline to the belief that they must necessarily have been guilty of some serious social or political crime, though the entire history of the time contains not not a single established instance thereof.

The course which Pombal was pursuing in Por-

tugal, Choiseul, prime-minister of Louis XV., was following in France. By means of the philosophical party, on the first April, 1762, all the Jesuit colleges within the jurisdiction of the metropolitan parliament were ordered to be closed. At the same time the country was inundated by their enemies with innumerable pamphlets, in which the Fathers were accused of almost every imaginable crime. Sacrilege, blasphemy, magic, idolatry, heresy, and schism were freely laid to their charge. In fact, they were declared to be anything or everything but members of the Catholic church, and this with the view of prejudicing the minds of the people against them.

The clergy, on the other hand, did what they could to save the Society. In a convention held at the time, they drew up a memorial, rebutting the calumnies, and imploring the protection of the king. The concluding paragraph of the prayer was as follows: "Religion commends to your guard its defenders; the church, its ministers; Christian souls, their spiritual directors; a vast portion of your subjects, the revered masters who have imparted to them their education; the youth of your empire, those who are to model their minds and direct their hearts. Do not, Sire, we implore you, refuse to accede to the expressed wishes of so many. Do not allow that in your kingdom, *contrary to the dictates of justice*, against the rules of the church and in opposition to the

civil law, an entire Society should be destroyed *without cause*. The interest of your authority itself demands this at your hands, and we profess to be as jealous of your majesty's rights as we are of our own."

The year previous, all the cardinals, archbishops and bishops of France, with the exception of the Jansenist prelate, Fitz James, had declared in favor of the Society.

There can be very little doubt that the monarch would have done justice to the Fathers if left to himself; but, like his brother of Portugal, he was ruled by a party, of which the minister was leader. The only result from the petition of the clergy, was an order to the provincial assemblies to investigate into and decide upon the constitutions of the Society. This was exactly what the enemies of religion demanded; in it they saw the complete triumph of their cause. It mattered not that the institute had been approved of by the Church in general council and by several Popes; the deputies of the various departments were sure to arrive at a different resolve. Such, in reality, was the case. With the exception of the courts of Flanders, Artois, Alsace, Besançon and Lorraine, who refused to admit that the Jesuits were the enemies of religion and the State, all the other provincial assemblies voted against the Society, called for its suppression and the expulsion of the Fathers. So far, the powers of darkness had tri-

umphed. Accordingly, on the 6th of August, 1762, the Parliament of Paris decreed that the Jesuit body could be no longer recognized as a religious community; and should, from that moment, cease to be regarded as such. Its members were to return to the world, to lay aside the habit of their institute, to avoid practicing their rules, and to cease all communication with each other as members of the same body. They were further declared incapable of holding any office pending their subscribing a formulary justifying the conduct of the government. At the same time, they were deprived of all their movable and immovable property; furniture, libraries, presbyteries, churches, etc. Thus, by an act termed legal, and in the outraged name of justice, did the high Court of Paris deprive four thousand blameless, virtuous Religious of all their worldly possessions, presumptuously arrogating to itself, in like manner, the right of secularizing the same, and dispensing them from their religious obligations to God! Of this iniquitous proceeding, the Protestant writer, Schall, speaks in the following condemnatory words: “The decree of the parliament is *too clearly stamped with passion and injustice to gain the approval of any honest, unprejudiced mind*; the attempt to force the Jesuits to condemn the principles of their order, was to pronounce an arbitrary decision upon a fact of history, evidently false, and made up for the occasion. But, in such dis-

eases of the human mind, as those which affected the generations then on earth, reason is silent, the judgment is clouded by prejudice."

Of the four thousand Religious then in France, only five had the weakness to subscribe to the oath required by their enemies. That the country might not consider the action of the ministers entirely unjust, the magnanimous parliament had the generosity to allow some of the disbanded Religious a franc, and others a franc and a half a day, for their support! But even this was not always exempt from deduction.

This atrocious, tyrannical conduct of government at length awakened the zeal, and called forth the just indignation of the Archbishop of Paris, the venerable Christopher de Beaumont. He, at least, had the courage to deplore the ruin which was being brought upon the Church and society by the expulsion of the Fathers, and the suppression of their colleges. In a pastoral issued to his clergy on the occasion, after refuting the calumnious charges made by the infidels against the Society, he concludes in these words: "We are convinced that this institute is *pious*, as the Council of Trent has declared; that it is *venerable*, as it was styled by the illustrious Bossuet. We know that the doctrine of the whole body *has never been corrupted*; and we are very far from looking upon the 'Collection of Assertions,' as the summary and result of the teaching proper to the Jesuits."

This courageous remonstrance on the part of the venerable prelate, so far from recalling the guilty to a sense of their duty, only served to urge them to greater extremes. By a vote of the assembly the letter of the Archbishop was ordered to be publicly burned, and the prelate himself peremptorily ordered to appear before the bar of the house to account for his conduct. Ashamed of this utter forgetfulness of what was due to religious authority, and fearing the consequences likely to result from the action of parliament, the weak-minded, dissolute monarch adopted the very questionable course of exiling the Archbishop in order to shield him against the wrath of his ministers; while the latter, not to be entirely frustrated in their purpose, offered a further indignity to the Fathers by requiring them, under immediate penalty of banishment, to make a formal renunciation of the institute to which they belonged. It is unnecessary to say that the whole of the Fathers rejected with promptness and virtuous indignation the unholy alternative, and stood ready to a man to retire from the kingdom rather than formally renounce their beloved Society. The country, however, was saved from this utter humiliation and disgrace by the refusal of the monarch to sign the decree of expulsion, inasmuch as it contained the objectionable words *forever* and *irrevocably*.

“The edict of expulsion,” wrote the King to his

minister, "is too severe in the expressions, *forever* and *irrevocably*. Does not experience teach us that the severest edicts have been revoked, no matter how binding or strict may have been their clauses?

"I am not cordially in favor of the Jesuits, but they have been always *detested by every heresy*; hence their success. I will not say more. If, for the peace of my kingdom I banish them, I would not have it believed that I entirely approve all that the parliament has said and done against them.

"In yielding to the judgment of others for the peace of my kingdom, it is necessary that the modification I suggest should be made, otherwise I will do nothing. I must conclude, or I shall say too much."

From this it is not difficult to see how different were the sentiments of the king and the parliament; the one was willing to sacrifice them in part, the other would be satisfied with nothing but their perpetual and irrevocable banishment. In fine, a compromise was ultimately effected by which it was agreed that the Fathers might remain in the kingdom, but on condition of their reporting themselves semi-annually to the local authorities, thereby placing themselves, as an able Catholic writer has aptly expressed it, in the category of "ticket-of-leave men."

While these shameful proceedings were being

enacted against the Society in France, the sovereign Pontiff, Clement XIII., frequently wrote to the king, exhorting him to do justice to the Fathers and prevent the triumph of iniquity, but the unhappy monarch was ruled by his minister, who, in turn, was but the creature or mouthpiece of the popular party. Finally, finding all his appeals and remonstrances unheeded, in deference to the entire Catholic Episcopate, he issued the memorable Bull *Apostolicum*, in which he condemned all the proceedings taken against the Society both in Portugal and France. A copy of this document was sent to all the Catholic powers, but such was the perverseness of the time, that it was prohibited being published in the kingdoms of France, Portugal and Naples.

The same spirit that was at work for the destruction of religion in France and Portugal was also quietly showing itself at this time in the kingdom of Spain. As long, however, as Elizabeth Farnese, mother of Charles III., was alive, the philosophical party had no chance in the kingdom of her son. That virtuous, noble-hearted lady would not suffer a Society, approved by one of her relatives, to be handed over to its enemies. But the protection thus accorded to it was only of a temporary character, for in 1763 the Queen mother departed this life, and then the enemies of religion had nothing to fear. Caution, however, had to be observed. Charles had a certain sense of religion, and

it was only by embittering his mind and prejudicing him by calumny against the Society that the conspirators could hope for the entire accomplishment of their purpose. To this end a pretext had to be sought, nor had the party very long to delay in finding one entirely suited to their purpose. On the 26th of March, 1766, Madrid became the scene of an open insurrection. The people in great numbers rose against the exorbitant rate of provisions, and paraded the streets clamoring for a just tariff and a redress of other popular grievances. The king had barely time to escape; for the insurgents were already at his palace. They had fallen upon the Walloons, or body guard, and massacred them in great numbers. At this critical moment, when the people were about giving themselves up to the wildest excesses, the Jesuits, most beloved by the populace, appeared on the scene; and, by their influence and popularity with the people, succeeded in appeasing the anger of the mob, and in restoring order to the city. The capital, and very probably the kingdom, was thus saved from the horrors of a revolutionary outburst, and yet, marvelous to consider, this very act, which should have earned for them the undying gratitude of the monarch and the State, was made use of by their enemies for the completion of their ruin. D'Aranda, the prime minister, the friend and confidant of the iniquitous Pombal, together with Choiseul, minister of France, per-

suaded his majesty that as the Fathers had succeeded so effectually in quelling the outbreak, they must needs necessarily be the originators thereof!

Another circumstance was laid hold of at the time to further embitter the king's mind against the Society. Juan de Palafox, the Jansenistic Bishop of Angelopolis, was said by his party to have been a most saintly and virtuous man, and to have performed during life several miracles. The king was applied to to seek for his canonization, but in this he was opposed by the Fathers, who endeavored, but in vain, to enlighten his majesty as to the true motives of the sectaries. This, too, served to estrange the king not a little from the Society. But more was still required to effect its entire ruin. Nothing short of a belief that his crown and his life were in danger could induce the naturally virtuous and over-confiding monarch to banish the Fathers from his dominions. This the enemies of religion clearly observed, and they determined upon having recourse to that final extreme. As in the case of the heir apparent to the Portuguese crown, they persuaded the king that the Fathers were engaged in a project for placing his brother Don Louis on the throne. In support of this assertion, they showed him a document purporting to have come from the Father-General at Rome, in which the illegitimacy of the king was called into account; and measures pointed out for placing the crown on the head of the legitimate

heir. "The letter," says the Protestant Schall, "was written by order of the Duke of Choiseul by a skillful forger, who succeeded in perfectly imitating the writing of the general; it was directed to the rector in Madrid, and mailed at Rome. D'Aranda was on the watch for the moment of its arrival, and held himself in readiness to seize it before it could even be read." The plot was as successful in every way as the authors could have wished. The king, taken entirely by surprise, fell a victim to the treachery of his minister. He never for a moment suspected the snare that was laid for his ruin. He believed all that he had heard; and yet, amid the indignation and grief that struggled in his breast, he hesitated to carry out the wishes of his advisers, by banishing the Religious. Persuaded by the leaders of the plot that secrecy was absolutely necessary, in order to avoid the imaginary danger impending, Charles privately consulted several learned divines, desiring to know if a monarch would be justified in banishing from his dominions a religious community for reasons which he could not make public. The theologians unanimously returned an answer in the negative, but the minister and courtiers answered in the affirmative. To the latter the king unhappily deferred; and then was issued that terrible order by which all the Religious were unmercifully banished from the entire empire of Spain. The instructions which were

signed by his majesty, and countersigned by d'Aranda, were inclosed under three covers, on the innermost of which were the words : " On pain of death this packet is not to be opened until the evening of the second of April, 1767." Within, the instructions ran as follows: " I invest you with all my authority, and all my royal power, to proceed forthwith to the house of the Jesuits. You will there seize all the Religious, and convey them as prisoners to the port herein indicated within twenty-four hours. They will there be placed on board a vessel, which must be in attendance to receive them. At the time you make the arrests, you will see that all the papers and documents are taken possession of and placed under seal, and that no one be permitted to take away anything but a change of linen and his books of devotion. If, after the embarkation there be found within your department a single Jesuit, *be he sick or even dying*, your punishment will be death. THE KING."

Thus, on the 2d of April, 1767, all the Jesuits throughout the whole of the Spanish dominions, both at home and abroad, in the east and the west, were seized by order of Charles III., and without any hearing or trial, without even knowing the cause of complaint, were thrown into prison, and treated as the veriest criminals. The numbers subjected to this horrible outrage, unparalleled in the annals of history, amounted, in all, to close on six thousand. On the same 2d of April, his ma-

jesty issued a royal proclamation, or pragmatic sanction, in order to justify himself in the eyes of his subjects, declaring that the motives which urged him to that course were sufficient, but yet should *ever remain buried in his royal breast*, and that if he did not act with greater severity, it was only owing to *clemency*. The document also made known to the public, that any one convicted of speaking or writing in favor of the Fathers, would be considered guilty of a capital offence. Even parents were strictly prohibited holding intercourse directly or indirectly with their children of the Society. Tyranny, absurdity and folly could hardly proceed to further extremes.

In California, the royal instructions were carried out with the same vigor and promptitude as in the other dependencies, with this only difference, that the distance from Spain prevented their being executed on the day appointed by the king. Their execution was entrusted to Don Gaspar Portala, who was named governor of the country. He was attended by a body of troops, fifty in number, in order that if necessary, he might be able to forcibly expel the Religious. The governor and party arrived in the country toward the end of November, 1767, and immediately proceeded to execute the royal commands. Up to this moment the Fathers were entirely unaware of what was about to take place. They had not heard of the proceedings in Europe and Mexico. In compli-

ance with an invitation of the governor, to meet him at Loretto, the Father visitor arrived there on the eve of the Nativity of Our Blessed Redeemer. On the following day, which should have been one of rejoicing rather than of mourning, he heard from the lips of the governor the contents of the fatal decree. It was read for him and his companions, in the presence of the necessary witnesses. From that moment they were no longer their own masters; they were prisoners in the hands of the civil authorities. If they were not cast into prison, it was merely owing to the kindness and humanity of the governor. They were, however, obliged to hand over all charge of their establishments, and to give an account of all their possessions; while, at the same time, they found themselves prohibited from exercising any public ecclesiastical functions.

Thereupon the Superior immediately wrote to all the Religious, acquainting them with the unpleasant instructions of government. It was a part of the governor's order that they were to remain at their several posts till replaced by the expected Franciscans, then on their way to the country, when they should repair to Loretto, bringing with them only the most necessary articles. The instructions of the governor also required them to preach to their flocks, exhorting them to obedience and submission to the new order of things. Having faithfully executed the orders of their Su-

perior, the Fathers started for Loretto. The scene witnessed through the country as they parted with their respective congregations, has never been equaled in the history of California. The loss of friends, relatives or parents, could not evoke a greater expression of grief and affection. The remembrance of all that the Fathers had done for them, the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which they had conferred on them, now came strongly before the minds of the people, and produced the liveliest sentiments of sorrow and gratitude. Others, indeed, it is true, were coming to replace them, but they were strangers, and unacquainted with the language and manners of the people. At length the fatal moment arrived; on the same day and about the same hour, all the Religious, except those of Loretto, bid a farewell adieu to their respective people. The impression made on the natives is best described in the words of one who took part in one of those scenes: "The fatal day is come. All the people surround the altar in silence, to assist at the holy sacrifice for the last time. The mass finished, the Father proceeds to the door to take a last farewell of his desolate children. At that moment all threw themselves upon him, kissing his hands and sobbing aloud, pressing him, at the same time with such fervor, that he was well-nigh being smothered. On the other hand, the pastor gave expression to his grief in an abundance of tears, and knew not how to disengage

himself from the arms of the people." Thus, with hearts full of grief, and eyes streaming with tears, these simple-minded, affectionate people, parted with their Fathers, their guides and support. In other instances, their affection was expressed more convincingly. The pastor of the mission of St. Gertrude, the Rev. Father Retz, being unable to walk or to ride, on account of an accident he had met with a little before, the Christians, in order that he might not be disappointed in joining his brethren, bore him on their shoulders a distance of one hundred and twenty miles to the mission of Loretto.

Arrived at that place, the Fathers lost no time in taking their departure. They were in all fifteen and a lay-brother, the exact number of those who had died in the country. The 3d of February was fixed for their departure, but the Governor fearing the impression that their departure might make on the people, if conducted by day, ordered the embarkation to take place in the night. The precaution, however, was unavailing, for no sooner were they taken out than the whole town was astir. The simple announcement, "The Fathers are going," drew every one that was capable of moving to the spot. In vain would the soldiers endeavor to keep them at a distance. With a common impulse, caused by love and grief, and which brooks neither delay nor hindrance, the entire multitude prostrated themselves on the ground

before the assembled Religious, some giving expression to their sorrow and affection by kissing their hands and feet, others on their knees imploring pardon for their past offenses; while others, still more ardent in their affection, pressed the Fathers tenderly in their arms as they wished them a lasting and parting adieu. This painful spectacle at an end, the missionaries addressed their last words to the people. They were short but impressive: "Adieu, dear Indians, adieu California, adieu land of our adoption, fiat voluntas Dei." Then, amid the tears, the sobs and lamentations of the multitude, the fifteen Jesuit Fathers, reciting aloud the litany of the Blessed Mother of God, turned their face from the land of their labors, banished by orders of a monarch, whose only reason for expelling them from his dominions were the imaginary crimes laid to their charge by the enemies of religion. Thus, on the 3d of February, 1768, were lost to California the presence and labors of that noble and devoted body of men, who, during the comparatively short period of their missionary career, had converted the whole of Lower California from Cape St. Lucas to the mouth of the Colorado.

CHAPTER XX.

SUPPRESSION OF THE SOCIETY. — NO CHARGES PROVED AGAINST THEM.
— PROTESTANT TESTIMONY IN FAVOR OF THE FATHERS. — TRUE CAUSE
OF THE ANTIPATHY OF THEIR ENEMIES. — INTRIGUES OF THEIR EN-
EMIES. — ELECTION OF CLEMENT XIV. — FREDERICK THE GREAT'S
OPINION OF THE SOCIETY. — PRESSURE ON HIS HOLINESS TO SUP-
PRESS THE SOCIETY. — ITS SUPPRESSION. — OPINION OF THE WORLD
ON THE ACT. — REORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY.

HAVING laid before the reader, in connection with our subject, the measures adopted toward the Jesuits by some of the principal powers of Europe, and their expulsion from Lower California by order of Charles III., it may not be amiss to continue the history of the Society till its final suppression by the sovereign Pontiff, in 1773. The very different judgments that have been passed on this subject, both by the Protestant and Catholic world, demand, in the interests of truth, a clear and accurate account of the motives and reasons that prompted the act. Judging from the statements of unfavorable writers, or from their own peculiar assumptions, Protestants generally regard the suppression of the body as an act of well-merited chastisement for the secret and political intrigues of which they suppose the members to have been guilty; while Catholics, on the other hand, from not carefully examining the en-

tire bearings of the case, and not taking into account the very critical condition of the Church at the time, fail to recognize in the act of suppression aught but the most inexplicable weakness on the part of the Vicar of Christ. That both are laboring under a very grievous mistake, we propose to show:

In order to form an accurate judgment of the merits of the case, it is necessary to remember the efforts made by the infidels and free-thinkers of the age against the Religious, and the dangers that threatened the Church in case their demands were refused. In a previous chapter we have shown how the courts of Spain, Portugal and France earnestly solicited the suppression of the Society at the behests of the classes to whom we allude, and whose only cause of complaint against the Society was, the great power and influence its members possessed as teachers of religion. That the members of the Society were not guilty of any of the crimes laid to their charge, social, political or other, for which they should be subjected to banishment, is abundantly clear from the fact that in none of the countries where their enemies called loudly for their ruin, and where they had the power in their own hands, were any of the members convicted or even arraigned on a definite charge, with the exception of Lavalette and Malagrida, to whose memories the world has long since done the amplest justice.

It is true the rules and principles of the Society so often approved and commended by the Church and her rulers, were condemned; but condemned only by the infidel parliament of a dissolute monarch, the true value of whose censure may be learned from the words of the Protestant Schall, quoted on another occasion: "The decree of the parliament is too clearly stamped *with passion and injustice*, to gain the approval of any honest, unprejudiced mind."

If the assertions set forth in the anonymous pamphlet cast broadcast through the community to excite the people against the Religious were true only in part, how is it that not one of their most inveterate enemies came forward to accuse them in person? How is it, if they were the intriguers and intermeddlers in the affairs of the State of which they were so unscrupulously charged, that some or other of the governments of whom they were subjects, had none of them judicially arraigned and legally condemned? How is it, that when they had to be exiled and their properties confiscated, the proceedings taken against them were marked by a want of all law, and even in defiance of the first principles of justice; that when his majesty of Spain drove them unscrupulously from all his possessions, both at home and abroad, he could find no other or better excuse as a justification of his arbitrary and tyrannical measure, than the unsatisfactory declar-

ation that he kept the motive enclosed in his breast? How is it, in fine, that neither time, labor nor research, has ever been able to show any document, writing or record of any description, by which the guilt or complicity of these men could in any manner be reasonably established? The reason is clear; they were innocent—innocent of the crimes laid to their charge; the best and most satisfactory evidence of which is the fact that when, without warning, all their religious establishments were entered in Spain and elsewhere, not a letter or object was found, calculated to compromise in the smallest a single member of the Society. Even Protestant historians have long since begun to acknowledge this notable fact. “If we divest ourselves of prejudice,” says Mr. Dunham in his *History of Spain*, “in weighing the conduct and the character of the Jesuits—still more, if we contrast them with those of their persecutors, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that their lives were generally not merely blameless, but useful; that they were the victims of a systematic conspiracy, more selfish in its objects, and more atrocious than any which was ever held up to the execration of mankind. With a refinement of cruelty which we should not have expected from the court of Carlos, they were forbidden even to complain, under the penalty of losing the annual pittance assigned them; nay, the Spaniard who presumed to speak or write in their defence

was declared guilty of high treason. But these venerable men were resigned to their fate; so far from uttering one word of complaint, they soothed their irritated flocks, whom they calmly exhorted to obey the civil powers." "I cannot conclude the just encomiums of these men," says an eye-witness to their expulsion from the Philippine Islands, "without observing that in a situation where the extreme attachment of the natives to their pastors might, with little encouragement, have given occasion to all the evils of violence and insurrection—I saw them meet the edict for the abolition of their order with the deference due to the civil authority; but, at the same time, with a strength and firmness of mind truly manly and heroic."

The true and undoubted cause, then, of the hatred and antipathy entertained toward the Society, at the period of which we are writing, is to be sought for and found in the hatred and antipathy borne by the philosophers and irreligionists of the day against the entire Catholic Church, and against the Jesuit Fathers in particular, as its best and noblest defenders. In a former chapter we have seen how Clement XIII. nobly defended the Society against their numerous and implacable enemies, censuring in the strongest and most unequivocal terms the act of the secular power in attempting, as he said, "to usurp the doctrinal teaching which was entrusted only to the pastors

of Israel—to the watchful shepherds of the flock.” “Imputations and calumnies,” continues the Pontiff, “are heaped upon the institute of the regular clergy of the Society of Jesus, a pious institute, useful to the Church, long approved by the Apostolic See, honored by the Roman Pontiffs and the Council of Trent, *with imperishable praise*,” etc. Later, on the same sovereign authority, in his *Bull Apostolicum*, issued, as he said, at the instance of the entire Catholic hierarchy, took occasion to pay a still higher tribute of praise to the Society by formally approving and confirming the institute. When, however, in spite of all his endeavors the enemies of religion had succeeded in suppressing the body and banishing the members from some of the principal countries of Europe, the blow was too great for the venerable man; he sank under its weight, and died broken-hearted, on the 2d of February, 1769.

The efforts of the anti-Catholic and infidel party were now renewed on a still larger scale. The moment seemed favorable for the kings and philosophers to accomplish their purpose. Now, or never, they were determined to have a Pontiff who, according to the language of the Marquis of d’Anheterre, “would suit the emergency.” Every effort was accordingly made to secure the election of a man according to their own heart. The Bourbons were the most active and unscrupulous in their endeavors. The most shameful and repre-

hensible maneuvers were resorted to by the ambassadors to secure a favorable election. It was at first proposed to exclude every member of the conclave known or suspected of being favorable to the Society. Against this the Cardinal de Bernis loudly protested, in a letter to the representative of France: "It is for the honor of the crown that I speak. Never before have they tried to elect a Pope by excluding more than a half of the Sacred College! This is unprecedented. It is necessary to be reasonable, and not place the sacred college in the predicament of having to separate and to protest against such a proceeding. It is impossible to form a plan of action upon a system so generally exclusive, that it will include only four or five members, some of whom are too young. In a word, what can one do who has the choice of grasping at the moon or of rotting in a dungeon."¹ Baffled in this, the Catholic powers resorted to other equally unlawful and reprehensible means of accomplishing their purpose. By the first they endeavored to force the sacred assembly into passing a resolution making the suppression of the Society a condition of the validity of election; and, secondly, they resolved upon withholding their acknowledgment of the Pontiff elect until he had promised to act in accordance with their views. Both these propositions, it is hardly necessary to

(1) *History of the Society of Jesus*: by Daurignac; English Translation by James Clements, vol. 11, p. 169.

say, were indignantly rejected by the venerable assembly. The members of the conclave had assembled in council to obey the dictates of conscience, and not the behests of unscrupulous monarchs. The best and most satisfactory evidence that they did not regard the suggestions of the powers in the election of the Pontiff, is the notable fact that, while at that moment religious orders and societies were much in disfavor at the principal courts, the all but unanimous selection of the conclave fell not only upon the only Religious in the assembly, but upon one who had been raised to the dignity of Cardinal at the suggestion of the Jesuit Body.¹

The Pope-elect, who took the name of Clement XIV., was crowned on the fourth of June, by Cardinal Alexander Albani. Then begun, in all earnestness, that terrible contest between the Pontiff and the Catholic princes, which ended only in the suppression of the great Society. The situation of Europe at that time was most dangerous and alarming. Never before, perhaps, did such ruin threaten the Church in Europe. The anti-Catholic party was dominant in every country; an alarming spirit of hostility to the Holy See had openly manifested itself at all the Catholic courts. Schism was openly talked of and pre-

(1) *Lives and Times of the Roman Pontiffs*: by Chevalier Artand de Montor; English Translation. Vol. 11, p. 333. *History of the Society of Jesus*: Daurignac, vol. 11, p. 170.

meditated by the powers. To avert this terrible danger, to retain the Catholic sovereigns in their faithful allegiance, and yet to do no violence to conscience, was the great question to be solved, and which certainly demanded the exercise of the greatest wisdom and most consummate prudence.

From the moment of the Pope's election, there seems to have been a latent suspicion that the Society was doomed. On the sixteenth of June, D'Alembert wrote to Frederick the Great, in the following terms: "It is said that the Jesuits have but little to hope from the Franciscan Ganganelli, and that St. Ignatius is likely to be sacrificed to St. Francis of Assisium. It appears to me that the holy Father, Franciscan though he be, would be acting very foolishly thus to disband his regiment of guards, simply out of complaisance to Catholic princes. To me it appears that this treaty resembles that of the wolves with the sheep, of which the first condition was that the sheep should give up their dogs; it is well known in what position they after found themselves. Be that as it may, it would be strange Sire, that while their most Christian, most Catholic, most apostolic, and very faithful majesties destroyed the body guard of the Holy See, your most heretical majesty should be the only one to retain them." The object of this letter could hardly be mistaken. The latent sarcasm touching the incongruity of his heretical majesty being the only defender of the Society, was to pre-

pare the Prussian king for expelling them from his dominions, in case of their condemnation by Rome. Frederick, however, though a Protestant and a free-thinker, refused to be influenced in that fashion. Writing to Voltaire at the time, he declared his intention of retaining the Religious: "That good Franciscan of the Vatican leaves me my dear Jesuits, who are persecuted everywhere else. I will preserve the precious seed, so as to be able one day to supply it to such as may desire again to cultivate this rare plant." What he thought of their enemies, he expresses in equally terse and expressive language. "If I sought," said he, "to chastise one of my provinces, I would place it *under the control of the philosophers!*" But Frederick's refusal to join in the league in no way impeded the Catholic princes from pursuing their project.

Eighteen days after the coronation of the new Pontiff, the ministers of France, Spain and Naples presented a memorial to his Holiness, soliciting the entire and absolute suppression of the society. Impelled by a blind, unaccountable hatred, the enemies of religion seem to have regarded the mere existence of the Fathers, as a religious body, the only veritable obstacle that stood in the way of their happiness. Clement refused to comply with the prayer of the petitioners. Writing to the king of France, he alleges as a reason his inability to condemn a society confirmed by a general council, and approved by several of his predecessors.

“I can neither” he says, “censure nor abolish an institute which has been commended by nineteen of my predecessors. Still less can I do so, since it has been confirmed by the Council of Trent, for, according to your French maxims, the general council is above the Pope. If it be so desired, I will call together a general council, in which everything shall be fully and fairly discussed, for and against.”

The contest was not ended here; happy for the sake of honor and justice it had been. For two years the different powers prosecuted their unholy and iniquitous purpose with a zeal and an energy worthy of a better cause. They would give the Pontiff no peace or rest till they wrested from him the coveted decree. One great Catholic power alone was on the side of the Religious. Maria of Austria would not join in the unholy league; she even exhorted and encouraged the sovereign Pontiff to save the Society, but even she at length gave in her adhesion. The mother's love triumphed over the love of religion. Entirely abandoned and unsupported, with nearly all the monarchs of Europe against him, the Pope still held out. In fine, fearing the consequences that a further refusal might lead to, believing that the Society, under the circumstances, could be of no good to religion, and desiring above all to restore peace and tranquillity to the Church of which he was chief pastor, Clement XIV. drew up and

put in force the ever memorable Brief, "Dominus ac Redemptor."

After recapitulating the reasons which induced him to act, and having cited the instances of many of his predecessors, having abolished several religious societies and orders commended and approved by the Church, such as the Knight Templars, suppressed by Clement V.; the Humiliati by Pius V.; the Reformed Conventual Friars and the Orders of St. Ambrose and Barnabas by Urban VIII.; the Regulars of the Poor of the Mother of God of the Pious School, the Order of St. Basil of the Armenians, the Congregation of the Good Jesus by Innocent X., the Orders of St. George of Alga, of the Hieronymites and the Jesuats, founded by St. John Columbini, by Clement IX.; he then proceeds in the Brief. "Led by such considerations, and urged by still other reasons supplied to us by the laws of prudence and the excellent rule of the Universal Church, which are deeply engraven in our heart: walking in the footsteps of our predecessors, and remembering the words of Gregory X., in the General Council of Latazan, as it at present concerns an order included in the number of the mendicant orders, its institutions, and its privileges, we, after mature examination, of our own certain knowledge, and in the plenitude of the apostolic power, *suppress and extinguish the said Society.*"¹ Thus fell, on the 21st July, 1773,

(1) *Lives and Times of the Roman Pontiffs*, vol. II., p 358.

the great Society of Jesus, which for two hundred and thirty-three years occupied such a prominent position in the history of the Catholic world; its name being intimately connected in almost every country with learning, science and missionary enterprise. At the moment of its suppression the institute numbered twenty-two thousand five hundred and eighty-nine members, of whom eleven thousand two hundred and ninety-three were priests. The labors of the whole were divided between twenty-four professed houses, six hundred and sixty-nine colleges, sixty-one novitiates, three hundred and forty residences, one hundred and seventy-one seminaries, and two hundred and seventy-three missions.

The manner in which this great, devoted body of men submitted to the authority of the Church, destroying their religious existence, is the noblest and most marvelous act of submission recorded in the annals of the Church. By it they demonstrated more clearly than any reasoning could have done, the purity, holiness and fervor of the institute. Without a murmur, a reproof or complaint, twenty-two thousand men, at the mere bidding of the Vicar of Christ, put off their religious attire, walked out of their holy retreats, handed over their colleges and seminaries, divested themselves of their churches and oratories, and, by an act of unparalleled, heroic submission, exclaimed, with one common accord, as they witnessed the last

moments of the Society: "Fiat voluntas Dei!" Never has the world been edified by so perfect and heroic an act of obedience—an act which, while it covered the Society with glory, assimilated it most closely to Him whose name was its title, and who, through innocence itself in obedience to the will of his heavenly father, was obedient—even unto the death of the cross.

Was the suppression of the Society an act dictated by prudence? was it wise? was it for the general good and benefit of the world at large? These are questions which subsequent ages have repeatedly asked, and regarding which there has been such a diversity of opinion even among Catholics. Humanly speaking, one is tempted to regard the act of suppression as one of the greatest misfortunes that could have befallen the Church at the time. It was, as the infidel d'Alembert would have it, disbanding his Holiness' regiment of guards; yea, it was more. It was disbanding the bravest and noblest battalion in the service of the Church. For two hundred years the members of the institute did battle, unhesitatingly and unwaveringly, with the enemies of religion, successfully combating, both at home and abroad, the errors and vices of the times. They were—indeed, it could not be denied—among the chief defenders of the doctrines of the Church, and of the rights and prerogatives of the sovereign Pontiff. When Lutheranism first made its appearance in Germany,

and, under the specious pretext of virtue and a love of divine truth, began to disturb the peace, harmony and tranquillity of the Christian world, among the first and most learned opponents of the novelties of the time (though the Society was but yet in its infancy) were Jesuit Fathers, whose success in defence of Catholic truth may be judged from the violence and hatred of their opponents, whose fast-failing cause urged them to clamor for the death and destruction of the Religious.

Later on, when the same torrent of error seemed ready to burst over Italy, having already penetrated into several of its towns, it was the same chivalrous body, in the persons of Fathers Brouet, Salmeron and Laynez, who, at the call of Paul III., came forward in defence of Catholic truth, and not only opposed an insurmountable barrier to its further advance, but, by the force and brilliancy of their genius, rolled back the tide of deception into the country of its origin.

When, again, the representatives of the entire Catholic world were assembled in council at Trent, to treat and determine the most important matters of faith, morals and discipline, those who spoke in the name of the sovereign Pontiff, as theologians elect to his Holiness, were members of the illustrious order of St. Ignatius—an honor the more remarkable and appreciable, considering the age of the men and the youth of the Society.¹

(1) Father Laynez was but thirty-four years of age, and Father Salmeron only thirty-one. Vide *Hist. Society*: vol. I., p. 55.

It is not to be forgotten either, that, even from the beginning, members of the same remarkable society carried the light of the gospel to the most distant parts of the earth—to the east and the west—illuminating and enlightening those who “sat in darkness and the shadow of death,” leading them forth from the ignorance and error of their ways, and enrolling them as members of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, not merely by thousands, but by tens of thousands, and millions.¹ It was members of the same society, too, that made the Catholic name and the Catholic cause honored and respected at the courts of the Great Mogul and of Kubla Khan, at Delhi and Peking, while others, with an equally laudable zeal for the interest and advantages of religion, took as their portion, and cherished as their special inheritance, the savage and barbarous tribes of North, South and Central America.

But when, independent of this, we consider the the subject in its larger and more general aspect, and consider the advantages necessarily accruing to the Church from the labors, the zeal and exertions of twenty-two thousand holy, zealous, devoted men, many of whom were remarkable as missionaries, theologians, philosophers and orators, in whose hands were placed the government and control of much of the secular and sacred learning of the time, and who, at that very moment, seemed

(1) St. Francis Xavier converted about two millions.

most necessary to combat and successfully oppose the infidelity and atheism of the hour, we cannot help imagining that the abolition and destruction of such a grand, powerful devoted society, was an injury to the Catholic church. When, on the other hand, we hear the sovereign Pontiff declaring, in his capacity as Vicar of Christ and teacher of Catholic truth, that the sacrifice was a necessity demanded by the exigencies of the time; "that the Society could no longer produce the abundant fruits and advantages for which it was instituted;" that if it existed peace could not come to the Church; then, indeed, the merits of the case assume an entirely different aspect in our eyes. To the memory of him whose name is so intimately connected with the abolition of the institute, it is only just to observe, that the act of suppression was not a rash and arbitrary exercise of sovereign power; not an act unique in its way, without any examples or precedents in the history of the past; not an act, in fine, performed by caprice, without grave consideration and mature deliberation. For four years from the time of his election, Clement XIV. withstood the constant and united solicitations and entreaties of some of the most powerful monarchs of Europe, repeatedly declaring his inability to censure or abolish a society commended and approved by so many of his predecessors, and confirmed by the voice of the entire Catholic world assembled in general council. And it was

only at the end of that period, when finding himself in direct opposition and antagonism with all the Catholic powers, and fearing the consequences a further refusal might entail on the Church, he drew up and enforced the memorable brief. It is, then, a clear and undeniable historical fact, that the suppression of the Society of St. Ignatius of Loyola, commonly called the Society of Jesus, was not the result or consequence of any error of doctrine, of any corruption of morals, of any laxity of discipline, of any secret, social or political aim, but as an offering—a sacrifice—made to the cruel and relentless demands of the hour; just as the merchant at sea reluctantly casts into the deep in a moment of peril a portion of his valuable cargo, in order to secure the safety of the remainder. Such, indeed, is the acknowledgment of Protestant writers themselves. “The Brief of Suppression” says Schall, “condemns neither the doctrine, nor the morals, nor the discipline of the Jesuits.” And in equally clear and unmistakable words, Sismondi also says: “Clement XIV. published the brief by which he abolished that order *not in punishment of any fault*, but as a political measure, and for the peace of Christendom.”

While then, for the reasons alleged, the Society of the Jesuits must be acquitted of every deed and every act that could have merited for it so heavy and grievous a chastisement, and while its suppression is to be attributed to its legitimate source

—the hatred and implacable animosity of the evil-minded men of the time—we must not forget what in justice is due to the memory of him on whom the burden of the odium is made mainly to rest. If, in consequence of a refusal to suppress the Society, only one of the countries of Europe with its millions of inhabitants were torn from the centre of Catholic unity, a thing not entirely improbable, considering the feeling and temper of the Catholic rulers at the time, who would not be ready to deplore the inaction of the sovereign Pontiff—who would not be ready to say that a greater loss was entailed on the Church. The act of suppression, it must be remembered, was not a violation of individual or corporate right; it did not entrench on the dominion of justice. It was merely an act of administrative, jurisdictional power. The Society was called into existence under the sanction and authority of the Church, and the Church had the power and the right, whenever it seemed fit, to abolish the same. The object of its creation at all was to bring peace and harmony to the Christian world—to advance Catholic interests; that object at the time, from the unhappy circumstances of the moment, seemed entirely defeated; yea, the Society seemed to stand in the way of so desirable an end. The limits of its action, too, were greatly restricted, being banished from and suppressed in the principal Catholic countries. But, apart entirely from such considerations, it seems to us

that the suppression of the institute was made to serve, in the inscrutable designs of Divine Providence, a still higher and nobler purpose, that of offering to the world an incontrovertible proof of the divinity of the Catholic Church. The philosophers and freethinkers of the time had counted upon the destruction of the religion as a consequence of the destruction of the Jesuit body. They thought that when the out-works were taken the citadel would necessarily fall; that when the Church's ablest defenders were removed the Church itself would be presently their victim. They were deceived; the first object of their ambition was attained; the Society was suppressed, but the Church remained. In vain did they attempt to advance any further and to destroy this creation of God. Their shafts of ridicule, calumny and false reasoning fell powerless against the impenetrable buckler of Catholic truth. More invulnerable than the Trojan Achilles, the Catholic Church stood forth unscathed in the midst of her numerous foes, and opening their eyes to this notable fact, the philosophers and infidels of the time must have acknowledged to themselves, if aught of sincerity remained in their hearts, that a Church which could afford to dispense, at a critical moment, with twenty-two thousand of its ablest defenders, and yet suffer no loss, must, indeed, be more than the creation of man—must be divine.

At the end of the volume will be found an ac-

count of the sufferings of the Fathers during the long years of their imprisonment from 1762 to 1777 by the authority of the Portuguese crown. They have no parallel but in the sufferings of the primitive Christians under the Pagan Emperors of Rome.



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